The New
REPUBLIC

October 13, 1941

BRITAIN
From Dunkirk to Moscow

A 10,000-word Special Section by

Herbert Agar, G. D. H. Cole, Julian Huxley
Arthur Greenwood, Tom Wintringham

A New Source of Aluminum

Lindbergh and the Big Lie

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THE NEW REPUBLIC

A Journal of Opinion

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Britain: There She Stands

It is just about a year since Hitler gave up his effort to break the British morale by merciless bombing of their great cities. Partly in commemoration of that anniversary, The New Republic presents in this issue a group of articles by distinguished British experts on the life of their country as it is now and as they hope it will be after the war, together with a word of appreciation by Herbert Agar. One does not need to be an Anglophile to admire the gallantry with which the British have undergone their ordeal; one does not even need to be an interventionist. Oppose American participation in the war as bitterly as you like, and you must still admit that if England had given up a year ago, with or without surrendering her fleet, the position of the United States today would be infinitely more dangerous than it is. And it is bad enough.

There are still plenty of things wrong in Britain; some of them are mentioned in this special issue, some of them we have said much about in the recent past, and we shall continue to do this in the future. We do not overlook these facts when we say that no nation in modern times has ever presented to the world a more heroic picture of collective high morale under an ordeal as severe as was ever inflicted upon any people.

Unrest in Europe

From all parts of Europe we continue to get reports of unrest and incipient revolt against the Nazis. In Norway the situation has become sufficiently serious to call out a statement by Josef Terboven, the Nazi commissioner, that deserves a place in the record of Nazi pronouncements:

> It is a matter of indifference to Germans if some thousands or perhaps tens of thousands of Norwegian men, women and children starve and freeze to death during this war.

In Czecho-Slovakia, executions of leading citizens continue wholesale. In Paris, many more have been killed. In Yugoslavia, revolt among the Serbian peasants is being fought with dive bombers and every other weapon of modern war.

Many persons have been struck by the fact that the German censorship has permitted these stories to be published. "Thomas Reveille," author of the recent book, "The Spoil of Europe," and a contributor to our pages, put forth a novel theory in a recent radio broadcast over Station WQXR, New York City. Mr. Reveille believes that as far as Czecho-Slovakia is concerned, the revolt is not real, but is a German invention, a pretext for mass murder. He recalls Hitler's well known plans for literally destroying all neighboring populations that could be dangerous to Germany, and thinks this process is about to begin. It was only delayed before because the Nazis expected to be victorious after a short war. It is especially important to them to push out the Czechs because they want a German population in the area of the great munitions works.

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Another reason for putting out false news of unrest would be to cause the British and Americans to relax their efforts, on the ground that the Russians and the West Europeans between them would soon cook Hitler's goose.

We don't believe anyone at this distance can say whether or not Mr. Reveille's theory is correct. We do know that there are powerful underground movements against Hitler in all these countries and that we ought to give them the maximum possible aid, no matter at what risk or expense. We believe further that the effect of the recent stories out of Europe has been to hearten the Americans and make them work harder, rather than the contrary. As for Hitler's plans to destroy the Czechs and other conquered populations, the answer is to defeat him on the battlefields of Russia—and perhaps other fields as well—and in the factories of the United States.

The Neutrality Act

There has been far too much complacency in America of late about the Battle of the Atlantic. Ship sinkings have again risen alarmingly, and the problem of the submarine has not yet been solved. With the whole West European coast available to them, the Germans are in a far stronger position than they were in the last war. Their submarines now hunt in large packs, aided by airplanes which find a convoy and report its position. The best defense seems to be great numbers of destroyers—far more than either Britain or America possesses at the moment—plus small merchant ships converted into aircraft carriers, which can keep two or three planes in the air constantly, both to fight off German aerial attack and to help hunt down the submarines.

Under these circumstances, it seems obvious that the American neutrality law should be scrapped at the earliest possible moment, even though political expediency may make it necessary to do this in two moves rather than one. Our own national existence is just as much at stake as that of Britain or any other enemy of Hitler. The neutrality law is a holdover from another era, before America was menaced. We refuse to believe that our Congress will actually jeopardize the national safety by failing to act in accordance with the altered situation.

Brandeis

The death of former Justice Louis D. Brandeis marks the passing of one of the giants of the American judicial tradition. Although, at the hearings in 1916 for confirming his nomination, a rabble of the respectable bitterly attacked his qualifications for the Supreme Court, the historian is certain to rank him among the half-dozen great ones of the Court's history—along with Marshall, Taney, Miller, Field and Holmes. Nor was his work confined to the bench. Even before he came to the Court, he had grown to be the symbol of the socially conscious lawyer, able both to master the techniques of corporate capitalism and fight its excesses. He was a practical social technician, who did much for savings-bank insurance, labor arbitration, the coöperative movement. He was an important Zionist who helped to establish a working democratic community in Palestine. But his abiding work was in American constitutional law. Here he broke new ground in the jurist's art, taming the material of monopoly, economic tyranny and intolerance of opinion to the needs and uses of a twentieth-century Jeffersonianism. Never so graceful or epigrammatic in his decisions as his colleague Holmes, Brandeis was the more formidable legal technician and social analyst. His "economic brief," his philosophy of the "curse of bigness" as applied to both business and government, his hard pragmatism, his concern for the small fellow, his approach to a case through its living social context, his practice of judicial restraint, his vision of a Jeffersonian democracy—these were qualities which will not easily be corroded by time.

Senator Nye Swings a Club

Senator Nye has threatened an investigation of the Mutual Life Insurance Company unless its president, Lewis Douglas, "keeps still" on the question of action this country should take against Hitler. The life-insurance business is greatly affected with the common interest. It rests, or rather moves uneasily, somewhere in the twilight zone between business which is public and business which is private in nature. A thorough investigation of all aspects of life insurance, including investment of funds and costs of policies, would be useful. The New Republic has asked for it numerous times. But it is an analysis of the conduct of the business that is needed, not an attack on an individual executive for opinions which he has a right to express. Senator Nye confuses the liberal position, and betrays it, when he uses it as a club with which to silence a man with whom he disagrees on matters of national policy.

Don't Scrimp on Youth

The National Youth Administration was set up years ago to provide part-time employment and other aids to needy youngsters. We have repeatedly recorded in our pages the facts which prove that it has done a good job. Lately it has been under fire on two counts: that before the draft act's passage, NYA officials had asked the army not to recruit among its young men, presumably so that the NYA would still be important, and that some of the officials had misappropriated or misused petty funds.

The first charge is denied by Aubrey Williams, the NYA administrator. The second he is investigating, but it is unimportant anyhow in terms of the whole picture.

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The incident would be trivial were it not that many people in Washington believe this is an opening gun in a campaign to cut all "non-defense" expenditures. It is quite true that defense work has lately sopped up a lot of unemployment; but there is still plenty of it, especially in communities where defense work is nonexistent. At least two million more will be thrown out of work this fall because of raw material shortages. Both the NYA and the WPA will be as badly needed as they ever were in the past. Both of them are putting a great part of their energy and money into strictly defense projects. We hope the attempt to smear the NYA will fail. Just now, the morale of our rising generation is our most precious asset; this is no time to run the needless risk of hurting it.

Hungry Lady

Our Favorite Story of the Week is a true one, although we cannot give the names of the participants. A few days ago a prominent American government official, now in England, dined at the home of one of the leading peers of the realm. The dessert was a custard made without eggs—eggs are practically nonexistent in England now—and the American, not caring much for it, left half of his on his plate. As the serving man was removing this course Lady X—— beckoned him with a sweeping gesture, deftly scooped the custard remnant onto her own plate, and ate it. Nobody seemed surprised except the American.

Next Week

It is always interesting to observe the application of logic to humanity's problems by the great of the world. Last week's instance which best deserves commemoration was fathered by Herr Goebbels. He asked for sympathy from the German people because, in the line of duty, he is forced to listen to British broadcasts, which are dreadfully boring. In the same speech he increased the severity of the penalties to his fellow countrymen for listening. Herr Goebbels' country is the place where you are bored to death. . . . The Saturday Evening Post's editorial, "The Saving of England," explains that Winston Churchill is solely responsible for the evolution of American foreign policy and the taking of the United States into the war—"the most amazing singlehanded feat in the whole brilliant history of British diplomacy." He did it by not attempting to lead American foreign policy but waiting to praise and thank FDR and Congress for action which they had already taken. . . . The Japanese newspaper Miyako, getting warlike again, announced that Japan must eliminate the influence of a third power in Asia because Japan is "choking," not having obtained "a drop of gasoline or a piece of scrap iron" for two months. Obviously, supplies from the United States would breeze through again if the two countries went to war.

FDR and the Duke of Spoleto reasoned in a simpler fashion. In his Collier's article, the President pointed out that under conditions of modern warfare you can't successfully defend yourself if you wait until your enemy is on top of you. The Duke, a member of the Italian royal family, said he would not be the King of Croatia. Choosing to be a live duke rather than a dead king is good logic in any language.

Lindbergh and the Big Lie

THE BIG LIE is a recognized technique in a propaganda campaign, enshrined in Hitler's "Mein Kampf" and brought to perfection by Goebbels. One of the best ways to use it is to invent some future act on the part of your enemy, and lambaste him for something he never did, never will do, and has not the slightest intention of ever doing: and precipitate a debate on what will happen when he does it.

The principal importance of Lindbergh's speech at Fort Wayne, Indiana, was his use of the Big Lie. There may be, he tells us, no congressional elections in 1942. The interesting thing is that this came in a speech in which he assured his audience that he had never spoken anything but fact, and that he had always given "the truth without prejudice and passion." The only possible conclusion he can intend us to draw is that the story about no congressional elections for 1942 is not a wild conjecture of his own, but the factual and passionless truth. Actually, of course, it is a fantastic fiction.

It is worth noting how Lindbergh led up to it in his speech. "We must face the fact that you and I and our generation have lost the American heritage," he mournfully told his listeners, the heritage being that of civil liberties. He gave no evidence of this, but assuming its truth, went out to paint an affecting picture of himself and his audience martyred by the Roosevelt dictatorship. "If the time comes when we can no longer meet face to face as free men in a free country, we will meet together at the elections next year and by our vote clasp hands though we be a thousand miles apart." But here a disturbing thought entered to break up the idyllic hand-clasp scene, and with it entered the Big Lie. "But what if there are no elections next year? Such a condition may not be many steps ahead on the road our President is taking us."

It would be grotesque to discuss seriously the factual basis of Lindbergh's manufactured nightmare. No one in the administration has ever suggested anything like skipping the 1942 elections, nor has anyone ever so much as hinted at it indirectly. But what is of absorbing interest is the history of the Big Lie, up to the Fort Wayne speech.

It all started with Captain Joseph Medill Patterson and The New York Daily News, a bitter exponent of the let's-leave-Hitler-alone-and-mind-our-own-business

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school. On August 9 The News first made this contribution to American political philosophy. On September 13 it came back to the theme at greater length in an editorial called "Roosevelt Eliminates Congress." On September 17 The Washington Times-Herald, which is also run by a Patterson (the Captain's sister, Eleanor) and which vies with The News and The Chicago Tribune for the honor of being the unfairest opponent of the administration's anti-Nazi foreign policy, launched into the same conjecture: "If, however, the war party calls off the congressional elections, by some executive dictum on the plea of national emergency. . . ."

All this could hardly be called surprising. One might expect scareline newspapers to manufacture scareline conjectures. But the next day, on September 18, help came from an unexpected ally, Arthur Krock's column in The New York Times. Under the title, "Is There a Way to Dispense with Elections?" Krock went off on the sort of earnest and scholarly constitutional analysis one might devote to some actual proposal from responsible sources. It was, he said, "an effort to discover how the elections could be called off if the administration so desired"—although he had the honesty to admit that "no responsible person has yet come into the open with these views." Even for the chronically indirect Mr. Krock this was a remarkable feat of indirection. After that, on October 3, came the Lindbergh speech at Fort Wayne.

It isn't a pretty story, this history: but if it were not so unpretty it might be really funny. Here are the champions of American liberty, the devotees of passionless and unprejudiced fact, and even the scholarly spokesman for a conservative and responsible newspaper, building a massive structure of argument on a foundation of air. The technique is not without its appeal, and it is hard to resist exploring its possibilities on the administration side. What if we were to start a rumor that Lindbergh never really flew the Atlantic, but that it was a Jewish flier masquerading as the Lone Eagle? Or a rumor that Captain Patterson and his sister Eleanor intend to sell their papers to the Nazi embassy in 1942, and that Arthur Krock is exploring the legal difficulties that might lie in the way? And anyway—our flight of passionless fact continues—neither Patterson nor Krock writes the editorials and articles in their respective papers: the real Patterson got lost years ago on one of the many rounds of movie houses he used to make, and the real Krock died of pneumonia recently, a thousand miles away from Washington.

But we must stop, lest the panorama of the Big Lie grow too inviting.

Yet there is more than fun and fancy in the theme of the Lindbergh speech. We dislike having to bring our readers back to reality. But the reality is that Lindbergh is, consciously or not, following the implacable pattern of building a fascist movement. Let us go back to trace that pattern. The first step was to induce the proper mood for such a movement. Lindbergh's earlier efforts were therefore devoted to helping spread over the country the mood of hopelessness and defeatism: the Nazis were bound to win, England was through, America was unprepared, we had better accept the wave of the future. The second step was to create an ideology for a fascist movement. That was the meaning of the Des Moines speech, with its linking of anti-British hatred, anti-administration hatred, anti-Jewish hatred. The third step was to lay the groundwork for possible fascist action in this country. That is the meaning of the Fort Wayne speech, with its warnings of suppression and its assumed air of martyrdom. Lindbergh is seeking to create an excuse for whatever violence his fascist groups may be preparing. If the President skips the next elections, he says, and abolishes Congress, we still have a last resort. "There is still, deep within this country, the spirit that built America; and on that, in the last analysis, we must rely." The "spirit that built America" was the Revolution. Lindbergh's speech might easily be thought a veiled call to violent revolution on the part of all the fascist forces in America. What he was too discreet to say openly, the August 9 editorial in The Daily News said for him. If the President calls off the elections, the editorial thundered in closing, "our belief is that there will be an attempted or an actual revolution."

Religion in Russia

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT was rather inept in his handling of the question of religious liberty in Russia; but that fact ought not to be used to obscure the main issues in the case. Some of these are:

1. The question has been raised at this time, not for any legitimate reason, but in an effort to embarrass the American effort to help Russia. The proof of this is the fact that for years little had been said on this point, even by the excessively vocal American Catholics, until it became important whether we should help the Russians with war supplies.

2. In thinking of conditions in Russia before the revolution, when the Greek Orthodox Church was predominant throughout the country, one can draw no parallel with any sort of church operating in the United States at the present time. The Russian Church was a tremendously rich institution, owning a large percentage of all the national wealth. It was a racket which preyed upon superstitious and illiterate peasants and kept them superstitious and illiterate for just this purpose. The average priest was barely one jump ahead of his parishioners in culture; but he knew enough to blackmail them on every possible occasion, even if he had to wrap a sheep's skeleton in a winding

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cloth and charge heavily for the privilege of praying in front of it.

3. Some of the bitterness of the Soviet officials against the Church is due to the fact that it participated in many counter-revolutionary efforts. The Monarchists, and other plotters who used to congregate in Constantinople, Paris and New York, were all good churchmen and the Church invariably blessed their efforts.

Every American democrat will hope that out of the war may come a restoration of the civil liberties that have been so much abused in Russia in recent years. It is legitimate to hope that among them will be included the right of free worship; no matter what right the Soviet Constitution guarantees, formal religion is certainly unpopular and unfashionable at the present time. The rising generation is largely communist, and almost automatically anti-religious. If Stalin now wants to conciliate the religious elements in order to make a bargain with the Pope, or to lessen the political opposition in America to sending him supplies, that is his business. That he is of such a mind is indicated by the fact that two atheist papers of Russia have suspended publication "because of the paper shortage" although no other important journal has been forced to do this.

But certainly, we are in no position to start dictating to the Russians about their internal affairs, any more than we would tolerate public advice from Moscow on our own. Russia has lost, by her official statement, more than a million men in fighting an enemy whose intentions are just as malevolent toward us as toward the USSR. Common decency would suggest that criticism might well be limited at present to those who have made a comparable effort; common sense would prevent us from endangering our own safety by letting such fantastic stipulations stand in the way of the maximum effort.

Changing Our Social Security

THE SOCIAL SECURITY BOARD is a courageous body. It has made breathtaking wholesale proposals to abolish all state social-security systems in favor of a federal plan to cover old age, survivors, disability and unemployment insurance. The chief argument is that some states are poor and politics-ridden; administration is inefficient and beneficiaries do not get much. Centralized operation would have more money, and could be more efficient and therefore cheaper.

At first glance, these arguments are impressive; but, in fact, much more important than the question of federal or state operation is that of sound underlying principles, soundly administered. Our social-security system is still a hodgepodge; President Roosevelt refused to take the advice of the experts when it was first set up, and the faults of that time have never been remedied. Some of them are:

1. We have so-called unemployment insurance, but it is conducted in a social vacuum so that it does not mean very much. It bears little relation to the actual needs of the unemployed, who must get much of their aid from other sources.

2. Unemployment insurance is based on a rate of wages previously earned. Within limits, the higher your wages, the higher your insurance payments. The man with low wages doesn't get enough insurance to live on. The national average is $10 a week for ten weeks; the payment is unchanged whether you are a single young fellow, or a man with twelve dependents. Up to three-quarters of all the unemployed run entirely out of benefit-payments before they get a job again. Home relief is still the main reliance of the needy unemployed.

3. The whole idea of building up large reserves through heavy taxes is unsound and is followed by no other country than the United States. Social-security obligations ought to be met out of current government revenue. This is in fact what the United States is doing, though it pretends otherwise. Social-security taxes are being used as a convenient form of revenue and the money is being spent in other ways.

4. In so far as other countries have social-insurance programs, not one of them has used this method to raise funds for war purposes, as the United States has done and is doing. If we were candid, we would admit that the proposal to federalize the social-security system is largely for the purpose of helping our present war effort.

There is nothing mysterious or complicated about social security. All it means is that those who get into trouble through no fault of their own should be helped by the state. It is high time that our whole system should be reconsidered in the light of the expert information and advice that have always been available, but have been so largely left out of consideration in the past.

THE NEW REPUBLIC

A Journal of Opinion

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A New Source of Aluminum

TVA Scientists Make an Important Discovery

AMERICAN SCIENCE has just scored a most important victory in the race for national defense. Research experts working in the laboratories of the Tennessee Valley Authority have developed a remarkable new process for making aluminum, of which this article is the first extended announcement. By doing so, they have solved the problem of rapidly dwindling domestic sources of raw material for what is probably the most necessary of all products needed for military strength, and especially for airplanes, of which it is a vital component.

At present, aluminum is made almost entirely from high-grade bauxite; the technique of working with the low-grade substance has not been developed. If we take into account the expansion of capacity under plants recently built, building or projected, the high-grade bauxite available within the continent of the United States will be very rapidly exhausted, perhaps in eighteen months or two years. We already depend heavily on British and Dutch Guiana for bauxite, and if the domestic supplies were gone, they would be our sole nearby source. But this would require a heavy increase in ships, of which there is already a great shortage. Moreover, in time of war, such ships might be subject to enemy action which, if successful, could gravely hamper our output of military airplanes.

There is another process for producing aluminum that has recently come to the fore, under which alunite is the raw material; but the supplies of this substance as well are strictly limited.

What the TVA scientists have done is to develop a process by which it is now possible to extract aluminum from ordinary white clay, which exists in enormous quantities practically all over the United States —such enormous quantities that it is hard to visualize the supply as being exhausted within the imaginable future. From the white clay the substance alumina is extracted, in proportions of 30 pounds for each 100 pounds of clay. From each 30 pounds of alumina, 15 pounds of aluminum are obtained. Plants can be widely scattered over the country.

When bauxite is the basic material, the first step—that of obtaining alumina—is primarily a chemical one, requiring fairly small amounts of electric power. Whether the raw material is bauxite or clay, the next step does need electricity in very large volume. Here, again, the Tennessee Valley Authority has come to the rescue by undertaking new plants of tremendous capacity, which will go into operation at various intervals beginning in December of this year. At the present time, eight dams and one steam plant for electric power are under construction in the area of the TVA, employing 16,000 men and women (all of them, incidentally, working directly for the Authority itself, under collective bargaining). Within the next twelve months the present installed capacity of the TVA power plants, a little over 1,000,000 kilowatts, will be increased to 1,500,000. As the projects now under construction are completed, 300,000 additional kilowatts will be provided in 1943, at a time when they will be badly needed.

As yet, there are no large plants for turning clay into aluminum. Constructing them, however, presents no insuperable problems; it is certainly no more difficult than building plants which use as raw material bauxite or alunite.

It should be noted that the research work on obtaining aluminum from clay is not a matter of the past few months, since the national-defense emergency began. For seven years, the TVA has had extensive research laboratories, primarily engaged in work on agricultural problems, including soil chemistry, new types of fertilizer, efficient preserving of perishable foodstuffs and the like. The work on aluminum is in a sense a by-product of this, begun five years ago and carried on by a group of research scientists in the government employ, and especially John H. Walthall and Arthur M. Miller.

In the long run, it is not unlikely that clay may supplant bauxite entirely as a source of aluminum. In the meantime, it will also serve the very useful purpose of a yardstick for the bauxite process. This work is still almost entirely done by the Aluminum Company of America. The government, through its defense contractors, is now the sole purchaser of aluminum in the United States; not a pound is going to any other purpose. No competitive situation exists, and it is very difficult for anyone to say whether the price is too low, too high, or just about right. The processes of reduction from bauxite and from clay are sufficiently similar so that a clay plant is a very good yardstick for the bauxite plants. At the beginning, the cost of producing the clay product may be somewhat higher per pound (a fact that is of no importance in the national emergency). However, with large-scale operations, the product from clay would certainly be able to compete with that from bauxite in the open market. And meanwhile, as suggested, a government yardstick as a check on Alcoa's profits seems an excellent idea.

THE EDITORS

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Britain: Dunkirk to Moscow

A Special Section

Tribute to an Island

SOME OF US who knew the British in the old days were inclined to think that their patriotism was overdone, that their patience was too inexhaustible, that their conservatism was so bone-deep that it would interfere with their adjustment to a crazy shifting world. We do not think so any more. The qualities at which we smiled are the qualities that helped the British stand when heaven was falling, when earth's foundations fled.

The patriotism that seemed sentimental to cynical Americans, and to cynical Frenchmen, turned out to be real. We did not understand why charwomen whose lives were indecently poor and shopkeepers whose lives were indecently insecure would wait for hours in the rain to watch a member of the royal family go by. We thought they were indulging an unreal emotion, an emotion as uncreative as that of a Chicago waitress at the sight of Clark Gable.

We were wrong. Those simple people were expressing a truth. In spite of all the sins of England, they believed in England. The crown was their symbol of a living faith. In the fatuous days before the war there was nothing much they could do about that faith, except stand in line in the rain to watch a prince or a queen drive past. Yet when England needed them, they did all that men and women can do. After years of meaningless politics and unkept promises it was a relief to be asked for "the last full measure of devotion." They did not give it to the blind leaders who had landed them in the last ditch. They gave it to an idea of England which they could not describe, and whose benefits few of them had experienced. But the idea was real to them. By their deeds they made it a fact. It is one of the few facts that Hitler did not take into account.

The patience of the British masses was always a marvel to the Americans who lived among them. The cold houses, the bad food, the maladroit or non-existent plumbing, the endless waiting in the rain for trams or buses, the endlessly recurring chilblains and colds in the head—all this seemed to make no dent on the patience of these people. In total war, the capacity to ignore inconvenience may make the difference between defeat and victory.

Life in a bombarded island is thoroughly inconvenient. I doubt whether any other people can absorb that steady, tiresome punishment as well as the British. The middle-class Englishman, stumbling home in the early dark of winter, eating a bad meal, getting a brief bomb-interrupted sleep and then stumbling out in the morning dark to get back to work, is something that Hitler did not know about. Ribbentrop told him that when the going got bad the upper classes would be ready to make a deal—which was a lie. But Ribbentrop has the soul of a champagne salesman; he had not even met the stubborn, patient poor, the people who are still doing all in their power to save our hopes for the future.

"We are the people of England, and we have not spoken yet," wrote Chesterton after the last war. He warned the world, and especially he warned the rulers of Britain, not to forget them. But everyone forgot them, including Hitler. And now they have spoken. They have said they do not intend to lose their dream of England because of the folly of the men who ran England. It remains to be seen whether their stubbornness will be enough. Perhaps the people of England, perhaps all decent people, will be murdered anyway. But at least they have given America a year in which to arm and act. At least they have done their best.

The deep conservatism of the British people is not a matter of parties or of classes. With a few exceptions, even the Left in England is conservative, in the sense that it believes in improving the present, hastening the process of change, but not in destroying the present and building a new world. Unless this conservatism is understood, there is danger of giving a false impression by talking about a "revolution" in British life. All that is good in conservatism was put in a single sentence by Lord Acton: "The web of history is woven without a void." This means that we should attempt tomorrow only what today and yesterday have made possible. It need not (though it often does) mean reaction, or standpatism, or political laziness. At its best, it means steady, creative change.

Conservatism in this sense is in the blood of the British. When it decays into stupidity it lands them in a Dunkirk or a Yorktown or a Manchester Massacre. But

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when it is alive and pushing it leads to great social change brought about with a minimum of violence, a maximum of acceptance by all classes.

Great changes have come over British life. If our side wins, those changes will go wider and deeper, and they will never be undone. The Britain of the future, if our side wins, will be better educated, healthier, more equal, perhaps poorer and certainly tougher. The people of England, who have saved England, will be heard from now on. But they will not demand a new world. They will demand more justice, more power, and more fun.

I predict that the deep conservatism of the British people will bring these things to pass with little turmoil and with little overturning. If our side wins.

Perhaps the British people are conservative for the same reason they are patriotic: they believe in the British past and therefore in the British future, and they believe that past and future must remain a continuity. Perhaps the British are patient because no one but a patient people could endure their climate. But whatever the source, I think these three qualities have contributed largely to the British toughness that has astounded the world.

HERBERT AGAR

What Comes After the War?

PEACE will follow victory and with victory will come opportunity. The use we make of our opportunity will determine the quality of the peace. The war will have aggravated old problems and created new ones. The burdens to be borne after the war, though different in many respects from those which are now taxing our resources of leadership, imagination, industry, service and sacrifice, will be no less urgent or complex. Lack of timely preparations and planning for the major problems of the present conflict has greatly handicapped our war efforts. But for the common and compelling conviction that humanity must not be defeated, the Allied and associated freedom-loving peoples would not have marshaled, organized and employed their combined spiritual, material and human resources to the extent and at the speed required as the price of victory. Even today, we can claim only to have frustrated Hitler. Victory itself has yet to be won. But if we still have stern tasks ahead of us and grievous ordeals to undergo, we are fortified and sustained in our great and growing efforts by the unshakable confidence that victory will be ours.

It should not be surprising therefore, that in Britain —even at this stage—we are already addressing our minds to some of the vast, complicated and urgent problems that will have to be solved if we are to make any real headway toward the goal of a happier Britain and a better world. We realize that when the present terrible conflict ends the people will be faced—and the government charged—with the imperative duty of rebuilding the fabric of our national life on a new and better pattern. The pattern has to be provided before the work can be begun, which means that the planning must be completed, or at least developed to an advanced stage, while the war races on, if we are to be able to concentrate on the post-war tasks with a minimum of delay and the maximum preparation.

We know from past experience how wide will be the range of the intricate problems that will confront us. We know how grievous will be the price of our failure to be ready with bold, practical measures for dealing with them. We intend to profit from experience and from the mistakes of the past. We shall avoid promising what cannot be performed, but we shall not shirk the duty of undertaking what should, and can be, accomplished. We draw inspiration and encouragement from the strong national desire, which manifests itself in all political parties and among all sections of the community, that the post-war order should be so devised as to ensure better standards of life and greater social security for our people. The democratic way of life which our men and women are fighting, working and enduring hardships to maintain, must give way to something better than the unmerited poverty, slum conditions, unemployment and insufficiency which afflicted many of our working-class population before the present war. It must also ensure something better than the sense of frustration, which in the years between the two World Wars, stifled so much of the natural eagerness and fresh enthusiasm of our youth. These simple human aspirations are shared by all who are imbued with the spirit of good neighborliness, and the benefits of the practical measures for their realization will likewise be shared by all.

In facing up to the problems of post-war reconstruction therefore, we are thinking and planning—and later hope to execute in terms of a socially secure and contented people—happy homes; attractive towns and cities; prosperous, well organized industry; thriving agriculture and advancing social conditions. The terms of the joint declaration by your President and our Prime Minister prompt me to repeat the words I have used about all those engaged in what must be a great national coöperative enterprise: "Our eyes must look upon broad horizons. We must be bold in planning, and effective in our execution."

Many of our towns, cities and seaports bear the hideous scars of Hitler's violence and malignity. Much that was old, ugly and evil—part of our heritage from

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the lack of social vision and social conscience of the Industrial Era—has been destroyed, but it is equally true that much which was new, good and splendid has been wrecked. After the last war 4,000,000 new homes were built in England and Wales, representing the rehousing of roughly one-third of the total population. That was the achievement of a social development probably unequaled in any other country. There were still many slum areas to be cleared and rebuilt. Nazi explosive and incendiary bombs have taken a heavy toll of slum and modern residential areas alike. Shopping centers, churches, schools, libraries and other public buildings have also been the objects of Hitler's ferocity, no less than proper military targets such as factories, warehouses, power plants, freight yards and railway terminals. These scars on the physical structure of the nation represent wounds inflicted on human souls.

In anticipation of Hitler's indiscriminate bombing, hundreds of thousands of women and children were evacuated to less vulnerable areas. But following Hitler's concentrated attacks upon the principal centers of the working population—involving, as they did, minor damage to hundreds of thousands of workers' dwellings—large numbers of our people have been temporarily dispossessed of their homes. The return, after the war, of this substantial portion of our population, will be conditioned in some measure by the speed at which homes can be made rehabitable or at which new ones can be provided. The restoration of the blitzed centers will, therefore, be an urgent and a gigantic task. Our intention is to recreate them on finer lines; combining beauty and charm with utilitarian value, and the planning will be based on principles which will seek to harmonize national, regional and local requirements.

War destruction and war requirements have intensified the need, and provided the opportunity to carry through the physical reconstruction in peacetime more speedily and on a grander scale than would normally be planned or undertaken. Physical planning must, however, go side by side with economic and social planning. Each is an essential component of post-war reconstruction. It will be realized that, under the pressure of war, industry has not only had to be changed over from a peace to a war basis, but also, in order to satisfy on a growing scale our expanding war needs, both labor and plant have, to some extent, been redistributed; a process governed almost absolutely by war requirements and carried on with little regard for the long-term economic and social consequences involved.

Thus, there are human, industrial and social considerations to be taken into account in planning the physical reconstruction of our country. The authorities in the blitzed areas are already actively engaged in preparing drafts of schemes for reconstruction which will take full account of the community's housing and social requirements on the one hand, and of its economic enterprise and industrial development on the other. It may be assumed that one of the common aims of these schemes will be to relate the place to the conditions of living, and the place to the conditions of the work of its citizens in order to eliminate the old inconveniences of transport, to increase health-giving recreational amenities and to satisfy higher cultural and esthetic standards.

In this connection we cannot be unmindful of the important objectives recommended by the Royal Commission on Geographical Distribution of Industrial Population. The Commission, as a result of evidence submitted to it, found that "the disadvantages, in many if not most of the great industrial concentrations, alike on the strategical, social and economic side, do constitute serious handicaps and even dangers to the development of the nation's life." In their report, published early last year, the Commission expressed themselves in favor of national action through a national authority which should proceed with the redevelopment of the congested areas; decentralization or dispersal both of industries and of industrial population from such areas, and the obtaining of a reasonable balance of industrial development between the regions and the proper diversity of industries within the regions. This problem of the location of industry came to be regarded as one of primary importance in any scheme of national planning. It is undoubtedly the major element in any local scheme of post-war reconstruction, which must provide not only for residential sites in open spaces, but for industrial sites as well. An effective means of regulating location without interfering unduly with industrial enterprise and development will be necessary in the national, regional and local interest. The necessary measures are to be provided.

Another vital public interest in the realm of planning that called for protection was the public acquisition or control of land as an essential element in reconstruction planning. The government determined that they would not allow the future of national development to be prejudiced by holders of land, or by speculators in land values seeking to profit at the expense of the public either by reason of war conditions or post-war reconstruction. It was therefore decided to limit compensation payable on the public acquisition or control of land so that it shall not exceed sums based on the standard values at March 31, 1939. Owners whose land is required for public purposes in furtherance of local reconstruction schemes are thus debarred from benefiting from any increase in the post-war value of their land, whether due to war conditions or the prospect of post-war reconstruction or any other circumstances. It is contemplated that this principle will

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remain in force for the limited period during which the long-term policy for reconstruction of town and country after the war is being settled.

We recognized also that steps must be taken to obtain the orderly planning of areas—whether of substantial devastation, whether developed or undeveloped—which are likely to be involved in schemes for redevelopment. The government therefore decided that these "reconstruction areas" must be planned as a whole. Provision will be made for defining these areas and for arming the planning authorities with adequate powers to acquire the land necessary to the effective execution of their planning schemes. In the meantime, work undertaken for war purposes must not be allowed to prejudice the future. Existing powers under town and country planning acts are to be extended in order to control by license all wartime building operations.

These are some indication of the lines on which we are proceeding in the sphere of reconstruction. There are other aspects under review, all touching on community life. I have confined myself to broad principles and national considerations having a direct and important bearing on our plans for reconstruction. We are working out their implication in an earnest endeavor to build a better Britain. The destruction wrought by the enemy has given us the opportunity to repair our own past mistakes. This opportunity we grasp with both hands so that from the sufferings of war may emerge a country worthy of the sacrifices and devotion of its citizens.

ARTHUR GREENWOOD

The "U" Powers

IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO discuss the future of the United Kingdom without discussing also the future of the United States and the USSR. Let me begin with the third of these.

With their entry into the war, the Russians have reëntered the world. This is the most important political fact since September, 1939. They have reentered the world on the side of the democracies: it is vital to keep them there when Germany is beaten, if the world after the war is to have stability.

Strategically, the interests of the USSR, whose harbors are so inadequate that the country could almost be called land-locked, are complementary to those of the two great maritime powers. The same relation holds equally in the realm of trade. The USSR may be more nearly self-sufficient than any other single political unit, but its self-sufficiency is by no means complete. There are key raw materials which it must have from abroad, like natural rubber, tin, nickel and various rare metals. It lacks jute, tropical oils and cocoa; for the time being it requires machine-tools. All these materials it must import, and for this its interests coincide with those of Britain and the United States in maintaining the freedom of the seas.

However the tide of battle turns on the Eastern Front, the USSR at the end of the war will urgently need foodstuffs, repairs to its transport system and certain key metals and other raw materials. It will be increasingly dependent on the Western democracies.

But in other respects the Western democracies will be dependent on Russia. The USSR will be an important member of any international organization for commodity control. It will be an indispensable partner with Great Britain and the United States in developing the backward areas of the world.

It is worth noting that to some extent at least the gap between systems that once appeared wholly irreconcilable is being closed. In the English-speaking democracies there is a strong tendency toward organization and collective planning. There is even in the United States a recognition that individualist laissez-faire in the nineteenth-century sense is wholly unsuited to a world which has lost its frontiers and an economy which is no longer rapidly expanding. There is a recognition that the state must provide some reasonable degree of health, security and educational opportunity for all its citizens. There is the reciprocal recognition that there are duties and services which citizens owe to the state, and that individuals must be to a certain extent organized and deliberately knit together. There is the slow but steadily increasing recognition of the importance of science and its proper applications, and the need for overcoming what has been well called the frustration of science, so evident now. With all this there is a lively realization of the need for retaining democratic freedom, personal initiative and individual variety. Britain and the United States differ in the distance they have traveled along these various roads; but the general trends are similar in both, as they are in the British dominions.

In the USSR, an equally striking set of changes has been modifying the revolutionary communist phase which most people in the West have in mind when they speak of "Bolshevism." The most obvious tendency has been one toward nationalism. Threatened by hostile powers on every side, the USSR has during the past few years deliberately fostered a spirit of patriotism, of devotion to the fatherland. This spirit is now bearing fruit on the battlefield.

In the field of culture, the emphasis has come to be laid increasingly on the individual as opposed to the group. This, as readers of Kurt London's interesting book, "The Seven Soviet Arts," will recall, is manifested in every branch of art and culture, from novels

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to films, from opera to painting. It is the outcome of a deliberate change of policy, and began in 1936.

Another well defined trend has been toward the building-up of the family, reversing the early tendencies making for disruption of home life, contempt for the marriage tie, and so forth. This has been accompanied, as the possibilities of providing housing accommodations increased, by a stressing of the need for some privacy. It has also been accompanied by a drive for increased population, which undoubtedly is linked with the trend toward nationalist patriotism. Abortion is now severely frowned on and birth control not encouraged. Finally, there has been the increasing tolerance of orthodox religion. The crowding of the churches at the news of the German attack (a fact fully exploited by Soviet propaganda to the Western democracies) shows to what extent this change of policy has harmonized with popular feeling. It is fair to say that within the last ten years Soviet Russia, in spite of her basic communism, has become increasingly individualist, "bourgeois," nationalist and economically stratified.

There is a definite, though as yet not large, convergence of the systems of the English-speaking democracies on the one hand and of the USSR on the other. It is now true to say that to a degree they overlap. Certain fundamental differences of ideology remain. It would be dishonest not to recognize that fact; but now is the time to see how far the two systems can be adapted to each other.

In their general attitudes to world affairs, each of the three great anti-Hitler powers (we may sloganize them as the U powers—UK, US, USSR—the U in each case, be it noted, implying the historical fact of being built up out of originally separate units), each of the three U powers has suffered during the interwar period from a political disease which has made active coöperation for constructive ends very difficult. The United States suffered from isolationism, Britain from appeasement and the USSR from a fear of attack by one, several, or all the great capitalist and fascist powers. Today isolationism in the United States is a minority movement fighting a losing battle; appeasement in Britain became very much of a minority movement in September, 1939, and quite negligible after the beginning of the Battle of Britain in 1940; and now that the attack on the USSR has come, and is being so magnificently repelled, Russia is likely to get over her neurosis on the subject and be willing to play her due international role with confidence.

We need a large-scale exchange of information and personnel among the USSR, the Allies and the United States on every conceivable subject—not merely on military matters and air-raid protection, but on propaganda, on planning methods, on science, on housing, on health, on education. Missions like that of Dr. James Conant to Britain on scientific coöperation need to be sent, comprising the best possible men and leading to permanent liaison. Journalistic and unofficial contacts should be encouraged as far as transport facilities permit. This type of contact has been accomplished at a satisfactory and still increasing rate between Britain and the United States. It must be made triangular. And if China can be brought in too, the basis will have been laid for an impregnable quadrilateral of power and progress.

That fact is bound to affect our ideas on reconstruction, that crucial period when, after the war is over, the peace will be won or lost. It makes a final solution of the security problem possible.

The combination of the U powers is a world combination, not a merely regional one. If once coöperation among them is assured, questions such as the constitution or the boundaries of a federated Europe become secondary, although previously they were primary. Many people have been toying with the idea of federation in some form. But after the details have been thrashed out—of true federation as against loose commonwealth, of a basis of democratic institutions for union as against a geographical one, a graver problem remains. Your Union is a regional or a partial one. Even if it were successfully accomplished, the next phase of history could only be envisaged as one in which the potentially hostile units had become fewer and bigger, but in which world unity had by no means been established. The union of Europe, the Far East, the Americas, the USSR—these or other similar dinosauric competitors would be the units of power politics.

Coöperation seems to begin most easily in strategical matters, as we have seen in the Anglo-American rapprochement. The post-war coöperation of the three U powers must be based on strategical realities.

We must remember that, as centuries of history have shown, the frontiers which Russia must attempt to hold on strategical grounds are considerably to the west of what she would desire to hold if fear of aggression from the west could be removed. The degree of Russia's collaboration with Britain and the United States will depend on the degree and the genuineness of their willingness to extend a hand from their side.

In the economic sphere, coöperation will be just as important, and perhaps in its immediate results more essential. There are two chief zones of political instability in the present-day world. One runs from Helsinki and Danzig to Suez and the Red Sea, through Poland, the eastern Balkans, Syria and Palestine; the other from Manchukuo and Vladivostok through eastern China, French Indo-China and the Philippines to the East Indies. They are like gigantic fault-lines in the tectonics of the world's political structure. They owe their peculiarly dangerous qualities, their capacity for generating political earthquakes, chiefly to this—that they combine economic backwardness and political inexperience with propinquity to powerful and highly

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organized neighbors on both sides. Further, they separate "have" and "have-not" powers. The USSR enjoys a high degree of economic self-sufficiency and is in no need of additional *Lebensraum*, while the reverse is true of Germany on the one side and of Japan on the other. The combination generates a tension that may easily become irresistible. If the tension in these zones could be reduced, an important step would have been taken toward world peace.

These fault-lines border the great block of the USSR on two sides. The areas along them are badly in need of development if they are to play an adequate role in world trade and if their populations are to reach a reasonable standard of health and prosperity. The redevelopment of China after the Japanese "incident" will itself be a major task. In general, these regions are much overagriculturalized. There is need for a huge program of building, engineering and simple and secondary industry to transfer population from the land and to raise the standard of life. The alternative, as practised by Germany before the war in Southeastern Europe, is to keep them as colonies producing raw materials, tying them down to certain channels of trade by barter agreements and using them as consumers of surplus armaments.

Their reconstruction is likely to be haphazard if it is to be entrusted to private enterprise. The lesson of the last few decades is that such large-scale developments should be planned and entrusted to powerful organizations of an official nature. In democratic countries, the Tennessee Valley Authority is the best example.

However, if we cannot get beyond a national basis, we shall be inviting nationalist collisions over trade. What is required is clear. It is the establishment of international organizations for the development of various backward areas of the world. Concretely, we need at the very outset an Eastern European and an East Asian development agency. (We need others too —one for Africa, one for the Near East, and so forth; but that is another story.) And on these it is essential that British, American and Soviet credit and planning talent shall coöperate. It will probably be best to make our first step the establishment of economic coöperation between Britain and the United States, partly because the prime need of the USSR immediately after the war is likely to be internal reconstruction, and partly because ideological difficulties will make a triangular agreement difficult. By the time the Anglo-American system had proved its worth, the USSR would be more likely to be ready for such ventures. It would also be more likely to join in a going concern. Other countries could and should be brought in.

The great advantage inherent in such international development agencies is that they will allow for the participation of Germany. In a nationalistically competitive world, German organizations for trade and development could be nothing but dangerous rivals. But once a sufficiently strong international organization has been built up, Germany can be safely and profitably invited in. There will be many difficulties, of principle and of detail, but do not let us forget that German participation, notably in Southeastern Europe, is in the long run essential. So long as Germany cannot dictate economic terms or become a monopolistic *Herrenvolk*, it is all to the good to have an outlet for German skill, energy and products in the building up of the European standard of living.

JULIAN HUXLEY

British Labor Sees It Through

THE BRITISH WORKING CLASS, more solidly than any other, is deeply anti-fascist, and understands quite clearly the calamities which would follow for it upon a Nazi victory. The great economic effort which followed the defeat of France last year was preëminently a workers' effort. The men in the workshops set to with a will, working tremendously hard for very long hours and taking the initiative in suspending their trade-union rules and customs even before the employers asked for the suspension.

The "workers' battle" of last summer and autumn was of its very nature a short-term effort. The workers set themselves in it a pace which their physical nature made it impossible to sustain. There followed, among employers, managers and workers alike, an inevitable slackening-off, as sheer weariness claimed its toll and as intensive bombing added seriously to the difficulties of continuous work.

This was a danger point; for if there had been any inclination among the British workers to make capital out of the nation's need, this is when it would have shown itself. In fact there was none. I do not mean that there was no discontent: there was a great deal, much of it fully justified. I do not mean that there were no strikes: there were a few, but they were small and nearly all quickly and easily settled. On the whole, the workers were fully prepared to put up, without resort to any action that might hamper the war effort, with grievances both at work and at home which under other conditions would have given rise to major industrial conflicts.

One big secondary reason for this—the primary reason being always the workers' will to beat the Nazis—was the composition of the government. Ernest Bevin and Herbert Morrison, holding key positions as Ministers of Labor and Supply, were regarded as guaran-

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tees that the war would be pursued for democratic ends, and that the workers in relation to the employers would have a square deal in the wartime reorganization of industry. Bevin especially wielded an enormous popular influence, second only to Churchill's in the country as a whole, and primary in the circles of organized labor.

Although this confidence has worn somewhat thinner in recent months—for there are many respects in which the war on the home front is still very inadequately organized—the accumulation of grievances has not sufficed to alter the workers' basic attitude. They still look to Bevin and Morrison and the rest of the Labor Ministers to ensure that the war shall be fought on a policy of social justice; and they have enough confidence left to hold them firmly to their tasks in face of all the serious inconveniences and limitations of freedom to which they are subject. They have endured compulsion to go and work in the jobs where they are most needed; they have accepted plans for "mobile employment" which upset their home life; they have gone on working in bombed areas when their homes have been destroyed and conditions of living and transport have become very difficult indeed.

A third factor, in addition to those mentioned already, has contributed powerfully to this result. Recognition of trade unions by employers is, in the great majority of British industries, taken as a matter of course; and there is in the leading industries a long tradition of collective bargaining and of peaceful settlement of the great majority of industrial disputes. This tradition is not universal; there are in some of the newer industries big firms which have stood out against trade unionism, and even victimized trade unionists where they have had a chance. But under war conditions many of these firms have had to give way; for over industry generally the principle of recognition is well enough established to constitute the general rule. It is the one on which the Ministry of Labor acts in its handling of wartime labor problems. No important step in government labor policy is taken without full prior consultation with the trade unions concerned, or, generally, without obtaining their agreement.

This government policy sets the line which employers have to follow. The employers know that, if they try to carry matters over the heads of the trade unions, the government will be bound to bring them into consultation as soon as state sanction is required for the policies pursued. Consequently, it usually suits the employers to go to the trade unions in the first instance, and to endeavor to obtain their agreement before approaching the government.

It is an essential feature of this spirit that it does not stop short at the regular bargaining of national or local trade unions and associations of employers. It penetrates right into the workshops, carrying with it the will, if possible, to get things done by agreement rather than by force. Naturally, workshop relations are very much better in some factories than in others; and in some they are positively bad—especially where the non-union tradition has existed in the past. But the general temper is good; and there is comparatively little of the bullying tone which, even if it succeeds under ordinary conditions, is the surest road to trouble as soon as skilled labor becomes scarce and conscious of its power.

Under these conditions, prevailing over the greater part of industry, communism finds it exceedingly difficult to make headway inside the workshops. It flourishes, generally speaking, only where the firm is one which has refused to deal with the trade unions, or exceptionally when a foolishly pig-headed management persists in refusing to treat the workers reasonably. Communism is not powerful in Great Britain in any field; but it is much more effective in stirring up trouble over such matters as air-raid shelters, which are not directly the trade unions' concern, than in upsetting industrial relations.

Of course, in Great Britain the situation is made very much easier by trade-union unity. There exists no such cleavage as that between the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations. Practically all the important unions belong to the Trades Union Congress (except those in the regular government service, which are unable to do so under the 1927 Trade Union Act) and recognize the General Council of Congress as a coördinating body. Similarly, nearly all the important associations of employers belong to the Confederation of Employers' Organizations; and there is a wartime joint committee of these two bodies which meets regularly for discussion, and is regularly consulted by the government. One trade union may occasionally dispute with another about the right to organize a particular group of workers; but serious "jurisdictional" quarrels are rare, and there are no inveterate inter-union feuds. This solidarity of the labor front is a very material factor in preserving the peace, and in making "recognition" an easy policy to carry out.

Despite the primacy of the fact that the great majority of the British workers are set on winning the war and are prepared to subordinate their own claims, individual and collective, to that overriding need, industrial peace in the war factories could not have been kept, to the really remarkable extent to which it has been kept, had there not existed the machinery for keeping it, as well as the will. A democratic country cannot hope successfully to mobilize its national economic effort unless it gives full recognition to the organizations which the workers have created for their collective defense. Nor is this only or even mainly a question of recognition by the government, essential though such recognition is. Wherever the main industrial effort remains in the hands of private firms, even

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acting under government control, the employers and managers are inevitably the persons who set the tone in actual workshop relations; and no amount of consultation of trade unions by government officials will establish satisfactory working conditions if the managements continue to follow an anti-trade-union policy, or even a policy of grudging recognition kept down to the barest forms. Employers, managers and foremen must be made to understand that it is a matter of primary national importance that they shall get on good terms with the leading representatives of trade-union opinion in their factories, and consult them, not perfunctorily, but with a real attempt to ensure coöperative working. Managers will find that their doing this will influence the types of men whom the workers choose as their representatives. Where the managers set out to fight trade unionism, the workers naturally pick as their leaders men whose chief quality is a readiness to fight back. On the other hand, where managements offer cordial coöperation, the leadership among the workers passes to men of constructive ability, and the entire spirit of the shop is changed.

I do not wish to present an idealized picture of industrial relations in Great Britain. They are by no means ideal, and there are great variations from factory to factory and from one industry to another. But it has made a great difference that collective bargaining has become a well established system, won as a result of long struggles, and now forming part of the recognized tradition in most of the major industries. This tradition is, of course, much stronger among men than among women, and among skilled than among less skilled workers. But the line of cleavage between the skilled and the less skilled is not so sharp as it used to be; and in a good many industries the two groups are now well accustomed to organizing and negotiating together. There is no clearly marked aristocracy of labor, standing apart from the main body of the workers, to complicate the problems of collective bargaining.

Let me put what I have been saying to the test of plain facts. The total number of days lost on account of strikes since the outbreak of war has been insignificant. The monthly averages for recent years are set out in the following table:

UNITED KINGDOM

Industrial Disputes: Days Lost (Thousands)

	Monthly Average
1929	676
1932	541
1937	285
1938	110
1939	107
1940	78
1941 (January-July)	114

Sources: The (London) Economist and The Ministry of Labor Gazette

It will be noted that the figures for the first half of 1941 (the latest obtainable—but there have been no big strikes since) show a small increase over the figures for the previous years. But this is of no significance. A single day's general strike in one of the leading industries would mean a loss of at least half a million days, and in the largest industries much more. As against this, the loss of 114,000 days in a month is almost nothing. Moreover, in comparing the figures given in the table it must be borne in mind that the pre-war years were a period of almost universal peace in industry. If the table were carried back to the years of serious unrest after the last war, the figures would have to be given, not in thousands, but in millions. There has been, and is, in Great Britain no interruption of war work by strikes on any scale that can have more than an infinitesimal effect on the war effort. Actually in June, 1941, the loss was down again to 89,000 days, an almost negligible figure.

This is not because wages have been so generally raised as to remove causes of discontent from that source. There are no figures that can be quoted without giving rise to misunderstanding; but in general the number of workers who have been able to earn very high wages is small, and there are large bodies of organized workers whose purchasing power, even apart from taxation, has fallen off, in some cases very seriously. As for hours of labor, there has been a tendency, widespread but not universal, to return to a working day of about eight hours, after the attempt to work much longer hours during the emergency which followed the fall of France. It has been clearly proved that the policy of longer hours does not pay, except for a very short time; and steps are being taken wherever possible to reduce hours which still remain, in a few bottleneck occupations, at an excessive level.

Finally, I come back to my opening point. Every active trade unionist knows that a Nazi victory would mean an end of trade unionism and of workers' bargaining rights. Every live-minded workman or woman knows that a British defeat would mean a sharp fall in standards of living. There is, over and above all this, a real hatred of dictatorship, and of the whole Nazi outlook on life. Dissatisfied as the politically active workers may be with many of the government policies, they are wholehearted in support of its determination to fight through to victory, and believe in the presence of their own leaders in the government as a guarantee that, in the long run, their legitimate claims will not be set aside. That, fundamentally, is why there are so few industrial disputes; but therewith it must not be undervalued that the machinery for dealing with difficulties as they arise exists and, on the whole, works satisfactorily enough not to subject the willingness to coöperate to an intolerable strain.

G. D. H. COLE

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Men-at-Arms

HERE IS A STRANGE THING about this strangest of wars: it is the most mechanized and organized and scientific bit of killing carried out by part of the human race at any time—yet the initiative of half-organized volunteers often plays as big a part in it as in past wars. On each occasion when the Nazis have been checked or partially defeated, during the past five years, one of the main factors checking them has been the spontaneous action of ordinary men and women, improvising and finding out for themselves, and often having to disregard or shove aside the official, the bureaucrat, the man who cannot understand democracy. That is much of the story of the British nation in arms; to see that story clearly it is necessary to go back and abroad.

Militia in Spain, guerrillas in China, did not defeat the organized military force of the aggressors; but they did check that force. In this war it was the civilians and recruits in Warsaw, led and inspired by the Lord Mayor of that city, who first momentarily delayed the Nazi armies. Then came Dunkirk, and that most English thing, the initiative of the little ships—the sailing of small craft with their volunteer crews to rescue an army. Then a year ago came the Battle of Britain, in which the German air force was partly defeated by our skilled and well organized pilots and by the quality of our machines, but part, and a large part, of Goering's defeat was due to the volunteer civilians who fought the fires and held the cities.

The same story in another form can be seen in Russia, where the greatest battle in the world's history includes the peasant guerrilla in the forests, and the lad from Odessa's streets filling a caviar tin with high explosive to make an anti-tank grenade.

The Home Guard in Great Britain, and the development of much of the new army here, fits in as part of the same process. I shall not try to label that process; it seems to me too big and too immature for definition. I believe that the spirit that produces the process would not have been considered anything out of the ordinary at Valley Forge or Valmy; would have seemed good religion to Cromwell, good nationalism to Garibaldi and good politics to Abe Lincoln.

Those are great names. Achievement here in Britain in the physical or material sense is not yet on their level. But in the moral or political sense here is an achievement hard to parallel: a very considerable army has been formed and trained in Britain, the army that we call our Home Guard, which has achieved and maintained discipline without punishment or pay. What that means in sacrifice and plain sweat should be obvious to any practical man, and particularly to anyone who has had personal experience.

Britain's Home Guard is probably the cheapest force of its size in the world. The cost of it to the British treasury, exclusive of arms and ammunition, is between 60 and 70 cents per man per month. It has of course cost the British people more than that. Time and again the hat has gone round within each unit for the repair or hiring of halls, for maps or instructional booklets, or fares to a training school, or home-made weapons, or .22 rifle ammunition for practice. I know one company commander who has spent all his savings on his unit. And when I was in charge of the Osterley Park Training School for the Home Guard, the main expenses of which were met by Mr. Edward Hulton, I found that money and material were offered like a shot, sometimes in embarrassing quantities, whenever those who came to the school suspected that anything could be bought for us. We got considerable quantities of powder from the last place we would have expected, the local police. They had confiscated all fireworks at the beginning of the war, and these, when broken up, gave us the material with which to charge our drain-pipe mortars, our land mines and our grenades.

No punishments, no pay, and also at first no prestige. The Home Guard began as Local Defense Volunteers, and their initials, LDV, were soon translated in many areas as "Look, Duck and Vanish." Some units became rather proud of this nickname, as they began to understand their job. They became particularly proud when various exercises and field days with the regular army showed that the man who knows his own ground well, and knows the arts of the guerrilla sniper, can "vanish" into the landscape in a most disconcerting way, to reappear where least expected.

It is difficult to estimate the moral effect throughout Britain of the development of the Home Guard, and of certain developments within the regular army. Very much of this moral effect, the heartening and toughening of the spirit of the British people, came from the feeling that this became the civilians' war as well as the soldiers' when the former shaped an army almost as large as that which wore uniform all the time. A war for democracy (in which people lacked interest because of weaknesses or limits in our democracy) became at any rate a war of and by democracy, absorbing the personal interest and soon building up the pride of youngsters not old enough to join the army, of men unfit for it, of men reserved for the industrial front, and of men too old for other armed forces. After a few months of Home Guard activity there were a million and a half households, in addition to those previously involved, that had "a man in it." After a time this man became an armed man. The weapon he brought home to show to the family was American.

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That I believe to be a more important factor in the heartening of the British people than has been generally recognized. We read in the newspapers of the Lease-Lend Act, of American munitions, planes, other supplies. But these are things few of us see; few of us even see the ships from which they are unloaded. They remain abstract to us, unreal. The rifles and machine rifles and machine guns that have come from America for the Home Guard are now in every village in England, Wales or Scotland. Almost all these weapons, because they fire ammunition of the American caliber and not of the British, are marked with a bright red band. And it is hard to move for a day about the streets or lanes of Britain without seeing one or many of these rifles, carried by a man going from his work to his soldiering, to guard road blocks or watch the spaces where air-borne troops might land.

In the past many nations did not reckon their citizens as being free men, and fully part of the nation, unless those citizens were men-at-arms: possessed, and knew how to handle, a weapon of some sort. This goes far back into our history in Britain, as far back as the Wapentake, the assembly of villagers once a year with their weapons to show that they were themselves fit and their weapons well kept. And that is over a thousand years old. Many of us here, and in all other civilized countries, desire and aim at a world in which weapons can almost be forgotten. But in the present world we feel that we are only partly men and partly citizens if we know nothing of arms. And we feel that a democracy that is living must arm its citizens not only for its physical defense but for their own morale, their own ability to stand on their own feet. There are many in the Home Guard and outside it who feel reassured by the fact that we are to some extent a people armed; they feel that this is in some way a guarantee that the future can be better than the past. Others differ.

This is an old country and some of its past weighs on it. I have mentioned an institution a thousand years old; there are others. There are ideas which are almost as out of date as these institutions. The men mastered by these ideas think of democracy in arms as frightening and dangerous. They dislike the Home Guard and the new tendencies within the British army. They did their best when the Home Guard was first founded to limit it in numbers, armament and function.

It was to be at the most half a million strong, armed only with rook rifles and shotguns; its only job was to act as observers, guides or scouts; it could not be fully combatant but might in the last resort "sit in a hole and shoot straight." And the men with the old ideas insisted above all that the Home Guard must be "safely officered." In some cases the first officers were chosen by the local chief of police, in one case by the Conservative Association, in another case by the secretary of the local golf club. Some of these officers were excellent. Some were not.

The Home Guard defeated these men. The defeat is not complete: simply because the Home Guard is in essence a democratic voluntary body, it is still the Cinderella of all the services in Britain. It is not allowed to keep its key men of thirty-nine or forty, when the police may keep all the fit men they desire of twenty-five or over. Home Guard battalions two thousand strong may have only one full-time officer paid for his services. Petrol and ammunition for practice and scores of other things are doled out with a most closely calculated meanness. At the War Office itself, in the departments that deal with the Home Guard, there is scarcely an officer with Home Guard experience.

Yet in spite of opposition, neglect and money-meanness, the force flourishes. And because it is alive, keen and thinking about its job it has taught the regular army, or helped the progressive officers in the army to teach it, a number of very useful things. We at Osterley were the first military school in Britain to teach certain propositions about the way in which unarmored men can stand up to and destroy armored machines. These propositions are being proved today at Tobruk as well as at Odessa. We taught guerrilla war and street fighting before most of the regular army here had received any instructions in these subjects. We taught that air-borne troops would be landed in gliders, and could be defeated by certain tactics and certain simple weapons. When the German air-borne troops glided down into Crete many of our regulars there had not been told what to expect, and there were few of the weapons necessary. Our teaching produced, or helped to produce, some units of the Home Guard so good that in maneuvers they could face regulars on equal terms and even score against them. Therefore this teaching profoundly influenced the regular army.

The British regular army is a most conservative institution. But today, after seeing a dozen of its battalions in the past week, I judge it to be changing more rapidly toward a progressive military outlook than at any past time. These changes naturally meet with questioning and opposition; and the changes do not happen throughout all the army at the same time. Inactivity and boredom are difficult for any army to cope with. But in this unit and that, and in teams made up of various units of different arms, one is beginning to see the past year's work and thinking bearing fruit.

As we become, more and more, a nation in arms, we become at the same time more and more driven by necessity, by the need for efficiency, to give each man his chance and each man who can take it his responsibility. That is one of the few hopeful things for democracy that can be seen this side of the Atlantic.

TOM WINTRINGHAM

(This concludes the special section on "Britain: Dunkirk to Moscow.")

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The CIO Goes Out for Defense

THE CIO approaches its sixth annual convention with a record of victories in Bethlehem Steel, Ford, Republic and a long list of lesser concerns with anti-union histories. Its membership increases have been great and the financial condition of many of its constituent unions has much improved. The debts of some unions to others within the CIO have been paid off with astonishing speed. Spectacular increases in hourly wage rates have been won throughout large areas of basic industry. In ordinary times the delegates to the forthcoming convention might look back upon the past year with considerable satisfaction.

Since these, however, are not ordinary times, many CIO delegates will feel discontent with some aspects of the year's record. This discontent may be based on the fact that the CIO has taken little positive part in the winning of a war in which organized labor has a big stake. The CIO, as an institution, has thrived upon the defense production program. But, as an institution, it has until very recently made scant contribution to it.

The apathetic attitude of the CIO toward winning this war has had at least three roots. The first is that organized labor has shared with other American institutions, and in no less degree, a "business-as-usual" point of view. "Business-as-usual" has meant that the primary energies of the important unions have been devoted to organizing new unions, consolidating old positions, negotiating new contracts, winning and settling strikes, carrying out internal political maneuvers, jockeying for personal position and building up financial reserves. There has been neither the staff nor the inclination to dive into the job of planning and executing the defense program. The "business-as-usual" attitude has been fortified by the overwork of the abler union leaders, their fatigued irritation with labyrinthine OPM procedures, traditional distrust of participation in governmental affairs and the well grounded belief that unless organizing hay is made while the defense production shines, labor will get it in the neck when the post-war collapse comes along.

The second root of apathy within the CIO has been the position assumed by the Communists. Until Hitler attacked Russia, the "left-wingers" in the CIO, following the Moscow line, assisted in obstructing the efforts of those CIO leaders who wanted actively to support the defense program. Obstructionist tactics, in a small number of cases, took the form of prolonging strikes called to achieve legitimate trade-union ends. But although this practice received wide publicity, its consequences were far less serious than the deadening effect upon CIO morale of Communist anti-war and anti-British propaganda. In general, their publicity tactics were similar to those of the America First Committee and other groups of isolationists. In addition, they had the advantage of being able to utilize traditional trade-union antipathy to war by dwelling upon fears of profiteering, inflation, loss of civic rights and "red-baiting" campaigns. Their ready-to-wear ideology, and their matchless political dexterity were perfectly suited to the task of keeping the CIO apathetic.

The third source of CIO apathy has been the hatred of John L. Lewis for Sidney Hillman, President Roosevelt and England. These hatreds have added up to an isolationism which neatly aligned itself with Communist objectives until June, 1941. Since then, the Communists have broken with Lewis, and recent editorials in The Daily Worker indicate that no compromise between them and the Lewis group is possible.

Both the Communist position until June and the Lewis position until now have been tenable, despite strong and widespread support within the CIO for President Roosevelt's foreign policy, only because of their skillful manipulation of Philip Murray's Industry Council Plan. This plan was evolved by Mr. Murray and his close associates as a result of their desire to achieve industry-wide collective bargaining, their effort to cope with the tragic consequences of technological unemployment in the 1937-39 period and their familiarity with the ideas of Mordecai Ezekiel. With the advent of the defense program, these hopes, fears and ideas became fused in the Industry Council Plan.

Although the Industry Council Plan was sincerely conceived and has been urged in good faith by Mr. Murray and others devoted to the cause of destroying fascism, it never has been carefully thought out or adjusted to the realities of American political and economic life. It rests on an oversimplified concept of economic planning. It underestimates the intricate interdependence of industries upon each other, and it disregards the fact that competent CIO leaders are already so overworked that a real problem would be involved in adequate staffing of the Industry Councils. Nevertheless, the Industry Council Plan had sufficient merit to enlist the support of many liberals, and to appear as a gesture of coöperation with the defense program. It was put forward as the sufficient answer to charges that the CIO was *not* coöperating. Mr. Murray and his aides, under pressure from all sides, made the Industry Council Plan the all-or-nothing basis of negotiations between the CIO and the OPM. The Industry Council Plan was not acceptable to the administration for reasons which presumably included those listed above. The result was an impasse which gave satisfaction to Mr. Lewis and, until mid-July, the Communist faction in the CIO. It also provided a

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refuge, probably unconscious, for the harassed and overworked group in the CIO of which Mr. Murray is the center. As long as the Industry Council Plan was not adopted in pure form, and as long as no compromise was acceptable, a large group of CIO leaders found it possible, in good conscience, to devote themselves almost exclusively to bread-and-butter unionism.

To this impasse, personal frictions, hot-weather impatience, frequent examples of governmental ineptitude, the CIO-AFL conflict and anti-labor attitudes in some quarters of the OPM made important contributions. But with the reorganization of the OPM in June, along industrial as well as functional lines, and the establishment of industry advisory committees, the government opened the way to the formation of labor advisory committees exactly paralleling those of business. These labor advisory committees contain the possibilities of an evolutionary approach to the Industry Council Plan. They were regarded in this light by liberal and labor members of the Labor Division of the OPM who worked for the inclusion of labor advisory committees in the OPM reorganization.

Nevertheless, the reply of the CIO, acting through a special legislative conference early in July, was a complete repudiation of the labor advisory committees. This action was in accord with the all-or-nothing position assumed as a result of the factors discussed above. It was also due in part to such a confusion of thought about the relationship between the CIO and the OPM that some delegates to the conference who were already committed publicly or privately to the labor-advisory-committee plan voted for the resolution against it.

The pressure of events during the summer, however, was so great that the all-or-nothing position began to crumble. The OPM needed the help of powerful CIO unions. In some instances, it was almost impossible for the OPM to act at all without the advice and organizational machinery of unions in the basic industries. Contrariwise, the unions needed a means of direct influence upon both OPM policy and operations.

The United Rubber Workers had taken steps to form a labor advisory committee a few days prior to the CIO resolution condemning them. They were convinced that such a committee was a minimum means of participation in the defense program, and a minimum form of protection of labor interests from the curtailment of rubber production. They have already made an important contribution to allocations policy.

The automobile workers, injured by priorities and curtailment programs, have accepted an informal labor committee status which is fulfilling exactly the function anticipated for the formal labor advisory committee. They also have a permanent operating committee in the OPM building. They have already made valuable contributions to policy and its applications in the transfer of the automobile industry from civilian to defense production. Their influence will continue to grow.

Silk and hosiery workers, staggered by the consequences of the stoppage of silk imports, have formed a labor committee to advise on allocations and labor policies and have posted two members of the committee to assist in actual operations in the OPM building.

Aluminum workers may shortly form a committee whose functions and potentialities will closely parallel those of the committees already formed. Electrical and machine workers in the durable consumers' goods field have a very great need for participation in the defense program and important contributions to make to it. The metal miners have also.

The potentialities of the labor advisory committees may be summarized under three heads: The committees and the unions they represent are obviously adapted to both policy formation and actual operations in the field of labor relations, supply, training and transfer. Second, they can be and already are of importance in the determination of priorities policy and its application. Third, but more remotely, they can be influential in establishing basic production policies now and in the post-war period.

Against this background, the CIO will convene in November. Without much question, Mr. Murray will be reëlected with the support of his own large personal following, the Hillman group, the Lewis group and the Communists. Resolutions demanding all-out aid to England, if not to the Soviet Union, will be adopted. Open opposition to the Communists in the CIO will have to be sidetracked until the party line changes again. Formal demands for the Industry Council Plan may be renewed or Mr. Murray may choose to emphasize: 1. That although the functional organization of the OPM has been retained, much of the policy-forming and operating job is being taken over by the Commodity Sections, which go a long way toward meeting Murray's demand for an industrial set-up in the defense program. 2. That there are already many more trade-union men in OPM offices than most CIO members are at all aware of. 3. That the labor committees have already developed influence and prestige with several commodity chiefs as well as in the Labor Division of the OPM. 4. That the door is wide open to committees in aluminum, electrical goods, metal mining, steel and many other industries. 5. That in the relations between the CIO and the OPM there are the same job of mutual education to be done, the same lessons of mutual tolerance to be learned, the same large area of common interests and the same prospect of an evolving status that there are when a new union has just signed its first contract with a previously non-union employer. If these views are stressed, the details of the relationship can be worked out. In the meantime, the CIO will have taken its place in the front lines of the industrial and social offensive against fascism both here and abroad.

ALAN WALKER

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No More Automobiles

THE 1942 MODELS are out, Pontiac's greatest, Plymouth's finest, Buick's best. Shinier than ever, and better; they ought to be. Twenty-two thousand captive tool-and-die workers spent months on retooling for them; months that could have been spent in tooling up factories for arms.

Shinier than ever. But the new models won't be shiny for long. In four months they may leave Detroit looking more like army jeeps. In six months there may be almost no new cars produced.

Officials of the OPM are still asking how the automobile companies could have been so short-sighted as to plaster all over their new models the scarcest, most vitally needed metals in America. Chromium, copper and nickel plating provide the loveliest shine. But in a few months there won't be any chromium or nickel or copper for automobile production. Chromium is essential in the stainless steel used in battleships and guns. Nickel hardens the steel that tanks and ordnance are made of. When it grew scarce in 1940, the automobile companies turned to copper as a base for plating bumpers and hubs. But in September there wasn't enough copper to meet the A-9 preference ratings—the primary military needs. There are no preference ratings for automobiles.

But giving up the shine will not save the new models. Each new car needs nickel for its gears. It must also have forty-five pounds of copper. The copper is needed in the wiring; it is almost the only available non-corrosive element which can be used for radiators. The industry has just been experimenting with a silver and lead substitute; but lead, too, is scarce and if the substitution is successful there will be little or no lead for civilian use.

On the insistence of the industry, and the compliance of Mr. Knudsen, the automobile industry is now producing at the rate of 4,000,000 cars a year. Since no new copper or nickel supplies are available to the industry, it is presumably drawing upon supplies which it has hoarded. Theoretically, the limits to automobile production are set by the quotas established by the OPM which reduce December's production to an annual rate of 2,600,000 and call for a further reduction in March. But unless the stocks of copper and nickel which the industry has hoarded are outrageously large, production won't even approach the levels set by the quotas. If these hoards exist and the OPM discovers them, they will most certainly be seized for military use.

All this the leaders of the automobile industry have brought upon themselves. The losses will be borne by others. Most of the 400,000 automobile salesmen will have to find other jobs. Most of the 450,000 automobile workers will be at least temporarily unemployed. Many of them will leave Michigan, and are already leaving, for their former homes in Tennessee or Kentucky or Texas, where a brother writes that there is a chance of a steady job. Late in September, the House Committee Investigating Defense Migration arrived in Detroit. It tried to bring before its hearings the employees of a shut-down Chrysler plant. But the men were all leaving Michigan and none of them would stay to explain why.

Today the automobile industry faces the disorganization of its plants and the disintegration of its labor force. These losses could have been avoided if the companies had understood that metal shortages were inevitable, and had prepared their industry to produce for defense. Instead they blindly insisted that they could produce great quantities, both of cars and of airplanes. As the result they will soon be producing few cars and far fewer airplanes than they could have done.

Two years ago labor understood the necessity of conversion and prepared its Reuther Plan. But those in control of the automobile industry had no desire to convert it into an aircraft industry. They wished to take over the growing aircraft production by adding to their existing equipment. With a few exceptions, the excess automobile capacity was left untouched. In July, the municipal officials of Flint were speaking of it as a future ghost town. Ford was building heavy bombers—at Ypsilanti; Buick was building Pratt and Whitney engines—at Chicago; Chevrolet was building Pratt and Whitneys—at Bay City and Buffalo; General Motors was producing Allisons—at Indianapolis. Ward's Automotive Reports stated in July that by the summer of 1942 the automobile companies hoped to be employing 450,000 aircraft workers *in addition to* 447,000 workers on automobile production. With these new plants, financed by the government and backed by their own superior resources, the automobile companies hoped to control the threat of post-war aircraft competition.

In addition the automobile companies were reluctant to sacrifice for the sake of defense the most profitable year since 1929. In the first six months of 1941, General Motors earned $321,000,000 before paying taxes; Chrysler earned $60,000,000, or more than its total profits for 1940. Perhaps the OPM should have insisted that the interests of defense be placed before those of private corporations. But the most important OPM official was John D. Biggers, director of the Production Division. On July 21, Biggers, as president of the Libbey-Owens-Ford Glass Company, wrote to his stockholders that the company's increased profits of $12,303,700 resulted from "an abnormally high volume of shipments to automotive customers."

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In all the advertisements of the shiny new models, there is no mention that the prices of Plymouth's finest and Buick's best have risen by $100 to $200. In the absence of price-fixing powers, Leon Henderson was unable to prevent this move. If 3,000,000 new passenger cars are produced this year, this price rise, at the expense of the low-income groups, may be effective in reducing demand. But if only 1,500,000 cars are turned out, no moderate rise in prices can solve the shortage.

Fortunately, the Office of Price Administration and Civilian Supply has prepared a detailed plan for the licensing of new automobiles, the first scheme which has appeared for civilian rationing. Under this plan, purchasers of automobiles are divided into preferred classes; they begin with doctors and go on to defense workers, taxi-drivers, city-service workers, farmers and commuters. Purchasers who belong to these classes may obtain licenses to buy new cars from their local police stations. If the government is in earnest, this system of rationing will be introduced in the spring of 1942.

There is no such finished plan for retraining automobile workers. The only existing plan for retraining men, in the Chevrolet plant at Buffalo, is caring for no more than one-third of those discharged, and they are being retrained on miserably low relief wages. In New York, Michigan and other states relief payments are limited to $12 or $15 a week; help is ended after sixteen weeks. If retraining is not completed within this time no further funds are, at present, available.

With at least a quarter of the automobile labor force facing the necessity of retraining, the absence of any scheme is terribly serious. Because experience under operating conditions is essential, the only effective retraining program is that within an industry. But the automobile companies are at present retraining no more than five percent of their employees. Unfortunately, the extension of a training-within-industry program has been delayed by the inability of the companies and the union to reach an agreement concerning the seniority status of the automobile workers. The wage scales of the entire automobile industry and the strength of the unions are built upon the seniority system. The union fears that the emergency will be used by the companies to destroy seniority and scale down automobile wages at least to aircraft levels.

Unless a retraining program which pays fair wage rates is established immediately, nearly half a million men will suffer great hardships through the winter. Many may be permanently lost to defense production. Meanwhile, as the output of new automobiles is brought to a halt, the American people must struggle along as best they can with the 30,000,000 cars they now possess.

Washington MICHAEL STRAIGHT

The Age of Ingenuity

I HAVE recently had an interesting experience. I have been on a pilgrimage to most of the outstanding industrial-research laboratories of the country, and from my trip past doors that are ordinarily barred to the public, I have brought back some interesting information. For one thing, I have learned of a number of new inventions[1], ranging from amusing new gadgets up to really important discoveries. They are significant, not so much for themselves as for the characteristic of American life which they symbolize, our everlasting desire for novelty and improvement, for doing new things or doing old ones in some better way.

Some of these devices are already in use, and you may have learned of them from other sources. I think it is safe to predict, however, that most of what follows will be news to most of my readers.

A meter has recently been developed which makes it possible to record with great accuracy, down to less than one percent, the exact amount of ultra-violet radiation from the sun that falls on any part of the earth at any given moment. There is a rare element called titanium, which has the unique quality of responding only to those of the ultra-violet rays which affect human beings. Another element, tantalum, records the bacteria-killing power of an ultra-violet lamp. These two devices, used separately or in combination, are extremely useful.

The United States government is about to use these meters in an important nationwide experiment. A great many of them will be set up, in all parts of the country, to find the relative amount of ultra-violet rays that are given off in one section or another. Public-health officials have long been puzzled because health conditions in two counties, side by side, where conditions are seemingly identical, sometimes differ markedly.

A great recent advance has been the new types of ultra-violet lamps which kill almost all bacteria that are brought within their range of influence. These lamps are now of high efficiency; it is a remarkable

[1] Some of these inventions have been developed in several different places; others are the exclusive products of one laboratory. I saw in the Westinghouse plants the ultra-violet recorder, bacteria-killing lamp, high-speed X-rays, bakelite models to indicate stresses, the air-cleaning device, and one type of vibration predictor. From the General Electric Company I learned of the million-volt X-ray machine, the use of lacquer to check strains in metal, the device to "stop" moving machinery, the cloth straightener, glass-metal welds, another type of vibration predictor and the color recorder. In the du Pont laboratories I found, among many other things not appropriate to this article, the spray to keep apples on the tree and the exploding rivets. The remaining items came from sources too varied to be catalogued here. — B. B.

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sight to see through the microscope a colony of germs in a great state of activity instantly and completely halt when the lamp is switched on.

Day by day, new uses are found for such lamps. An apartment house has just been built in Washington, D. C., which is completely air-conditioned and has a battery of these lamps in the air ducts. All the air throughout the entire building will be almost completely sterile twenty-four hours a day; it will be practically impossible for a tenant with a cold, or any other air-borne disease, to infect members of his family. During the great measles epidemic last winter, lamps placed in the classrooms of a Philadelphia school reduced the number of cases 75 percent as compared with those in other schools not protected.

The mechanism for sterilizing the air might be accompanied by the one which automatically cleans it to almost complete purity. This device, called a "precipitron," is placed in the duct through which air enters a room. Negatively charged electrons move across a small enclosed space at right angles to the stream of air as it comes in. If it has particles of smoke or dust, the electrons unite with them, and carry them to the positively charged surface of a series of plates.

One variation of the new sterilizing lamps is highly beneficial in cases of bacteria, molds and fungi on the human skin, including the common and annoying disease called athlete's foot. The rays from the lamp are effective in two ways: they kill the microörganisms directly, and they also tone up the skin, as sunlight does, especially by curing excessive dryness, so that the individual himself is better able to throw off the diseased condition. These lamps also operate effectively to cure a boil that has not yet come to a head.

A remarkable new technique for killing bacteria by sound waves has recently been worked out by Professor A. P. Kreuger of the University of California. Dr. Kreuger places a tube made of nickel in a magnetic field which is activated electrically, setting up vibrations at a terrific speed. Sound waves are created at the high rate of 9,300 cycles per second. These sound waves are efficient in killing bacteria, viruses and bacteriophage, which is itself a virus disease of bacteria.

Because of new inventions recently worked out, X-ray pictures can now be taken at tremendous speeds, only one-millionth of a second. Already, a bullet has been photographed traveling along inside the barrel of a rifle, and other objects have been arrested in the midst of very rapid movement. Heretofore only a few X-ray motion pictures have been made, with great difficulty. This new device will not only make it much easier to take X-ray movies at a normal speed, but will make possible ultra-high-speed films. We shall be able to see the whole history of a bullet or shell moving inside a gun; we can penetrate to the heart of heavy machinery rotating at 1,000 revolutions per minute.

Within the past few months, science has taken a great forward step in regard to the power of X-ray machines used to detect possible flaws in metal, which have been stepped up from 400,000 to 1,000,000 volts. Heretofore the construction of such X-ray machines has been limited by the huge size necessary to prevent stray currents from going in the wrong direction. A high-pressure gas originally invented for use in refrigerators was found to insulate these machines with great efficiency. As a result they have been brought down to the size of three by four feet instead of being fifteen or thirty feet high and big in proportion. These machines can examine heavy castings, such as those used on battleships, in order to make sure that they contain no flaw. They will test a piece of steel eight inches thick in only a few minutes, a work which took hours in the fairly recent past.

It is of great importance, in building heavy machinery, to know in advance where the strains and stresses will occur in metal parts, so as to be sure that they are made strong enough, but not needlessly bulky. It has been discovered that a well known plastic, bakelite, has strains within it almost identical with those of steel castings. To determine future stresses in heavy metal parts, a small bakelite model is prepared, and it is subjected to the same strains, in proportion, while it is being baked for an hour in an oven at 240 degrees Fahrenheit. After the model has cooled, it is sliced up into sections, and these are viewed through a polaroid screen. The exact stresses to which the metal will be subject are shown through the screen in beautiful, opalescent colors.

Another newly invented device which has somewhat the same effect is one to show strains in metal objects through coating them with lacquer. A bar of metal, for instance, is covered with this substance, and after it has dried, the bar is bent. Minute cracks will appear in the lacquer which show exactly where the stresses occur, and how serious they are.

With this country facing what seems to be a serious shortage of electric power, it is important that new types of windmills have recently been developed to generate electric power. One of the new types recently erected on a hilltop in Vermont has a 100-foot tower, weighs 75 tons and generates 1,000 kilowatts, enough to light a city of 10,000 people. An important problem the engineers had to solve was that of gusts of wind which can speed a mill up to three times its normal capacity, overloading and perhaps burning out the mechanism. This problem has been solved, and it is expected that the windmill will be used to feed electricity into the power lines to supplement other sources. It is also possible to use such windmills for charging storage batteries which can then be employed at any time, whether the wind is blowing or not. The experimental windmill in Vermont works with the wind at any speed from eighteen miles an hour up. It is believed that it will operate about half the time, though

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this would of course vary in other parts of the country.

Clocks have recently been built so delicately adjusted that they are "wound" by changes in the barometric pressure and in temperature. A change in temperature of one degree Fahrenheit stores up enough power to drive the clock for four days. Since the temperature changes constantly, there is never any likelihood that the clock will run down. This comes as close to perpetual motion as anything man has yet produced.

Through a new device, it is possible to look at a printing press, through which paper, textiles or other fabrics are passing at great speed, and make sure whether several colors are registering accurately, one on top of another. Everyone has seen motion pictures in which the wheels of a wagon or automobile appear to be stationary; the reason is that in the interval between one photograph and the next, the wheel has moved forward just the distance between two spokes. The same principle is used in order seemingly to bring to a stop machinery that is rotating at high speed.

Mills which finish sheets and other textile fabrics have in the past had great difficulty because the material sometimes begins to run crooked while passing through the tenter frame where it is stretched and dried. A remarkable new invention can straighten such cloth automatically, while the machine continues to operate at high speed. Two photoelectric cells are set so that they scan all the threads that run horizontally in the cloth as it moves forward. As long as the cloth runs through the machine with warp threads at right angles to those of the weft, the same number of threads per inch or per minute will pass under those scanning cells. If the cloth begins to move at an angle, one of the cells will pass over a larger number of threads than the other, and this irregularity in the rhythm between the two actuates devices that will straighten the cloth.

The scientists have recently taken an important forward step in that they have learned to weld large pieces of glass and metal together as strongly and closely as though two surfaces of metal had been joined. This is possible because they succeeded in developing a metal and a glass both of which expand or contract under heat or cold to exactly the same amount, in exactly the same length of time. Such glass-metal combinations have already found many important uses, as for example in electric insulators and large electronic tubes, particularly high-powered X-ray tubes.

Next time you ride in a public bus, if the driver seems more than ordinarily careful about starting and stopping smoothly, the chances are that he is being checked up by a special meter that records all abrupt stops and starts. A simple mechanism makes a line on chart paper every time the driver jams on the brakes or slams his foot on the gas.

An important labor-saving device has recently been brought forward in the form of explosive rivets. Each rivet contains a minute quantity of a high explosive. It is placed in position, and an electric contact is made with the head. This explodes the other end of the rivet, which mushrooms out, providing a grip of great strength and certainty. The explosive is controlled so accurately that the expansion can be kept within twenty thousandths of an inch. This invention speeds up enormously the building of airplanes. It is now possible to fasten a rivet which can be reached only from one side five times as rapidly as in the past; in a military airplane there may be as many as 10,000 rivets of which this is true.

A new type of photographer's flashbulb has been invented that will take pictures in complete darkness. It utilizes invisible infra-red rays and in most cases the people whose pictures are being taken are not aware that anything has happened. The bulb can also be used of course in lighted rooms and will be much less annoying than the ordinary flashlight.

When large machines, such as a great turbine in a ship, are being built, it is necessary to know exactly in advance whether they will vibrate or not; these machines today are so heavy, and move so rapidly, that even a slight amount of vibration may prove disastrous. A new device predicts where the vibration will occur and it is not necessary to rotate the machinery for this purpose. What happens is that parts of the machine are artificially caused to vibrate, the vibration being forced on them by an electrically energized apparatus. Whether they are or are not in harmony then shows up on a simple registering device.

Another recent invention achieves somewhat the same end by a different means. A casting that is intended to revolve rapidly, such as an automobile axle, is placed in this machine, and is rotated. Immediately, the machine records on two simple dials whether it is out of balance, and the exact places and extent to which this is true.

When apples get ripe, they fall from the tree, as Sir Isaac Newton and many other people before and since have discovered. To commercial orchardists, this may be an extremely serious matter: the apple which falls to the ground is likely to be bruised, inducing decay, and must certainly be sold at a reduced price if at all.

Science has gone to work on this problem and, incredible as it may seem, has recently developed several substances any one of which will keep the apples on the tree. Just before the crop is ripe, when the first few apples begin to fall, the tree and all the branches, twigs and fruit are thoroughly sprayed. As a result, the apples stay on the tree until they are picked.

Always in the past, men have depended upon their own eyesight to identify colors as being of the same or contrasting shades, and because of the psychological factor, such work has never been accurate. Today, through a new device, guesswork is removed. Colors can now "write their autographs" in such a way that

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they can be identified precisely after hundreds of years have passed, and the formula for any color, with absolute accuracy, can be transmitted by mail, telephone or telegraph. This is possible because of a new machine which breaks up white light through a prism, and does the same thing with the color being tested. The two are compared, and the result is an exact statement of the intensity of color for each of the shades of the spectrum, which is recorded by a pencil moving across a cylinder on a piece of chart paper. Any two pieces of any kind of material, which have the same "color autograph," will look alike under all conditions.

I found the laboratory demonstrations of new devices like the foregoing interesting; but hardly less interesting were my discussions with leading research scientists on general questions. I was struck, for one thing, to discover that not all American research has now been diverted to war activities, as one might suppose from reading the daily press. To be sure, a very large amount of war work is going on; but there is also a vast quantity of research in the peaceful arts.

Modern war is a matter of technology; and I was interested to get the views of these master technicians on America's chances in an armed conflict. It was reassuring to find that, one and all, they considered American machine resources and inventive ability to be far superior to those of any other nation. They recognize that we have been slow getting started; and they know better than any layman that it takes time to retool for instruments of war. It is their collective judgment that once the preparatory interval is over—and they consider that it is practically finished now—American production will stagger the whole world.

These men are far from making the mistake, so common in the past, of assuming that research and invention have come to the end of their rope. None of them is in the frame of mind of the United States Commissioner of Patents who, just a hundred years ago, expected the Patent Office to be closed because everything possible had been invented, or that of Thomas Edison, who thought the electric light was so perfect that research might well stop.

These men, almost unanimously, believe that the things unknown constitute a far greater quantity than the entire accumulated knowledge thus far of man's life on earth. Partly for that reason, they are thoroughly optimistic about our national future. They do not believe that we have let machinery run away with us; on the contrary, they believe we need and can use far more machines than we have now. In short, they feel that the future holds out infinitely greater promises than the past has fulfilled. BRUCE BLIVEN

This is one of a series of articles on "The Men Who Make the Future," based on interviews with leading American research scientists. – THE EDITORS

The Lights Look Down

MAKING PICTURES is one of the most monotonous and exacting jobs in the world, and it is hard to realize from the glib images of the screen what persistent slow endeavor has built up bit by bit to any simple minute of action. Inside Warners' sound stage 21, the largest on a lot that advertises itself outside as the largest in the world, the air is dark with gloomy remote shadows here, overbright there. The thing is somewhat the shape and size of an airplane hangar, but it is also something like a building going up, for high overhead run the catwalks, or parallels, with their batteries of spotlights; and above them, all around, runs a second tier, with ladders and cables going up and down—cables run all over the set in mazes like jungle growth, from the size of telephone wires to flexible rubber mains as big as garden hoses, giving light and rolling cameras and picking up sound. At the near end is a section of street front, with two stores and an alley. The stores are solidly built, one of them two rooms deep, and exactly as old and weathered and ready for business as any fish store along the waterfront. This is one of the sets for "The Gentle People," which is going to cost around $750,000 with no money wasted.

Along half of one side, her masts rising out of sight into the gloom above the catwalks, there is a full-sized and full-rigged ship, complete and perfect in detail. It is the ship they used for "The Sea Wolf," and they are leaving her there a while because it is going to take time and thousands to get her out, and meanwhile something might come up. "The Gentle People," for example, is waterfront, so they're shooting some of the scenes with her forepeak and bowsprit for background. The entire wall down that side is painted a flat dull black, and so is the far end: the cameras shooting across from any of the angles needed will pick up only distance. But the thing that really fills the stage and chills the air is the Warner tank, which is perhaps two-thirds of it. A raised dock goes part way down the near side, with sound, heavy piles along the edge and ladders going down to a landing stage a foot or so above the water—only three feet deep, but colored to look like harbor water, green and sluggish. Various small boats are tied up behind the dock and out of sight. The boat at the landing stage under the lights is the sturdy but weather-beaten fishing boat used by the Gentle People. Part of all this is the standing equipment for that stage, but a good deal has been run up

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for this one picture. And all the work has been done on it before the story even went into production.

On this afternoon they are setting up for a retake of one of the earlier scenes someone wasn't satisfied with, and have been at it probably an hour already. The dock and the landing stage swarm with grips and electricians, cameramen, assistants; and voices float down from the catwalks. There is a man on the bowsprit of the ship; there are men on stages rising above the water, adjusting junior spots, reflectors, barn doors; there are two or three men in high rubber pants pushing about through the water. Behind this the actors are hanging around waiting for the set-up; the director is there; the script girl and make-up people are there. Some carpenters are puttering with a new staging. It is a strange scene of seeming incoördination and idleness, and actual complex bustle.

Just now the place is dominated by the thick unreal voice of the lighting director, the head gaffer, who gives his orders into a hand microphone as lights rise, fall, swing or go out, one by one or in batteries. Three stand-ins hold their places forever as the number-one arc is taken back a foot, as the big junior is blinkered to hit the edge of the landing ("Keep it off her face, Gleason"), as a light is brought up behind the dock in a punt and trained across under it to put an outline around the piles. The center of action is surrounded by a forest of these intent bulbous heads on their adjustable iron stalks, looking mutely into the glow they make, like the men from Mars.

And above, from all sides, looking down across varying distances of shadow, the numbered arcs and rifles, moving slowly to the hollow amplifier-voice which fills the air directing them, on and on. "A little to your right, Burwick—or who's up there?"—"Cut in 22. Now 14, 6. All right, all your arcs, up there."—"Eddie, turn yours up a little. Another turn. No, make it hotter. O. K."—"Steve! Where's Steve? Push yours up about a foot and take a filter out, can you make it?"

Below the dock on the landing-stage level, the camera rests on its dolly, a focus of many cables and needing three or four men around to push and clear everything as it moves smoothly in or back on thick rubber tires along a metal track laid down for it. Even with a blimp hooding its real mysteries, it looks as complicated as the cab of a locomotive. A figure huddled in a topcoat is in the seat, looking occasionally through the finder and motioning to the lighting director; his hair is very black and when one of the electricians calls down directly, "How's this, Jimmie?" his voice in answer has just a trace of high singsong. What he has seen through his camera you have seen since you have seen pictures, and now you see himself, patient and exacting and in a topcoat, James Wong Howe. He is one of the aces, hard to get and invaluable on a picture like this, which is going to depend very much on atmosphere; and he knows it and will sit there immovable until every shadow has been painted in or erased or tinted to suit his precise liking. The unpractised eye sees no change as these lights come in or shift or burn hotter, gets no sense of values from apparently aimless units looking off across the general pattern, which is something like what a wheel with irregular spokes would look like if it were a globe instead. But through all this laborious process figures are being outlined and faces made clear but natural, and the surrounding air is being given life and density. Mr. Howe will say all right when he is ready.

The man on the jib of the Sea Wolf has not moved. The people at ease in the chairs around the back are still talking or studying a script. The Negro service man is still playing a game of toss with one of the grips in front of the fish store and people stop to rag him. ("What time did you get back?"—"Never *did* get back! Ho. ho.") The men in rubber pants wade slowly about in the water, keeping it churned up and snagging odd remnants out of camera sight.

"Number one," says the voice. "Now two," and from high up somewhere two cans of fog let out spurts of vapor, which billow slowly into layers in the air. "Now down and to your left, Mac," the voice says, and the man on the jib boom finally moves, and sends a stream of fog from his can directly down to the water and across the camera field. "Save it," says the voice, and the fog stops coming, and the billows and layers of what has been sent out merge slowly in the air, which is now being set softly in motion by two giant noiseless fans turning slowly, one at the water's edge, one trained down from the dock above. Jimmie looks through his finder and says something to the lighting director, and the voice picks up again: "Al, can you bring that junior. . . ."

The fog is turned on and off two or three times, and the lights move and black out in their inscrutable purpose; and then apparently Mr. Wong Howe say all right, because instead of stand-ins there are actors in the three positions of the scene. Ida Lupino on the stairs to the landing stage; Thomas Mitchell looking up at her; John Qualen in the boat. And now there is a gray-haired gentleman looking through the camera finder, Anatole Litvak, director. It will not be one of those scenes that are made on the first take, because he knows the camera too; he wants that lighted mobility of expression and density of air too, and nobody is through work until he is satisfied on every detail and says "Make it." With Jimmie and Litvak on the same picture you do not make ten camera set-ups a day, let the front office yell its head off. But you may—and it is always a pure gamble, with odds on that extra sense of the good artist—you may get a color and depth and feeling of immediate happening that will be just the mysterious extra quantity which will bring a picture back to haunt people as they lay them down to sleep,

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and also finally bring glory to the front office which will make it healthier and wealthier, but no more wise.

The actors hold their positions now. The camera moves in and back, and there are conferences. Overhead on its boom the microphone swings from side to side and runs silently out and back as the center of dialogue shifts. They try it once, the scene opening with Mitchell talking up to Lupino, turning, talking to Qualen, who talks. Then Mitchell to Lupino and her exit; then Mitchell to Qualen. Then with the lights again, with the camera, with conferences. Then, "Places! Places, please." More work with the finders. The fog is dying again so One and Two and the Man on the Boom are called to, and now there is a man with a little fog pot and a fan just to the left of the camera, to send it wisping across the scene. Then again. Mitchell to Lupino, to Qualen (and at the phrase, "That's what they are, swordfishes!" the camera moves noiselessly back to include the three in medium shot; the microphone boom reaches noiselessly out overhead to catch the Mitchell-Qualen) and again the conferences, the changes, the actors quiet in their places, and in the interim the voice ("Save your arcs") to the big eyes around the parallels. Four or five times with the same lines, no perceptible change.

Then the fog is brought out for good, one of the men in rubber pants comes up close but out of sight to move the water and let it slop and ripple against the boat and pilings, and all the big lights hit up and the man with the slate, Scene 243, Take 1, holds it in front of the camera, and this time the camera is really rolling. A bell rings, the endless gossip in dim corners hushes as various grips and assistants on the way to advancement pass back a sharp *Tsht!* The director, now on a high stool, calls out "Action!" and Thomas Mitchell's voice comes up in the old line just as if he'd thought of it: "Now that's no way to be talking about a boy like Tommy."

The camera rolls back, the boom moves out, the water ripples gently and the only one now to make a move outside of the lighted circle is the man with the little fog can and the fan. "Cut," the director says, and after a minute Jimmie says, "Miss Lupino, please?" and the girl comes to her original position on the ladder, and Jimmie turns a handle and looks, and Litvak moves up and looks, and nods, and goes back to the stool. "Places!" he calls as the second assistant holds the slate, Scene 243, Take 2, up for the camera and jumps back on the dolly as it moves in. The bell rings. People say *Tsht!* and through the easy rolling fog the lights look down and up and across with their hot steady thousand eyes, and Thomas Mitchell, again, starts, "Now that's no way to be talking about a boy like Tommy," and the sixty-odd people around look across and down, as fixed and impersonal as the lights.

Take 3, Take 4, Take 5. With time out for more changes, more fog, with the same lines, the same business, the same page of script, and all the thousands of cubic feet of air waiting, being lighted and colored and filled with sound, but waiting. (All the grips and most of the electricians waiting now, as actors, and cameramen, the director and his assistant and his script girl had waited.) Then through it for the last time and the voice comes up again, "Save it!" and the main lights blink off, and the director holds the actors long enough to get places marked out for the next seven lines to follow in the next set-up, to come. And Mr. Howe leaves his seat to stretch and pass the topcoat up to someone on the dock above, and the camera looks vacantly straight ahead, its record of these things safely within. Grips and electricians are already swarming over stages and equipment, because the following four lines will need forty different angles; and in the back the service man tosses the improvised ball to someone, agreeable as ever and gay with laughter, "Ho ho, I guess you wasn't on location *that* day either."

The next scene will be a new scene, not just a remake of a scene already worked out like this one, and so the same thing will go on all over again but with even more time for experiment, until Mr. Litvak breaks for the day around five, and goes wearily up to the projection room for rushes on what the camera held as its secret when he finished the work of the day before. And when tomorrow at five he goes up to see what was caught today, and approves the take and attends to its cutting. And when, later when the picture is done and he has seen all the takes as joined together in a director's rough cut, and the rough cut has gone to the various departments for the additional sound of music or whistles or traffic, for the splicing in of transition material and printed titles, the little close-ups on numbers and signs and turning calendars, hands writing and what not, and the whole business has gone to the company cutter for final working into line, and a master print made and approved, and duplicates sent to the exchanges and from there to your neighborhood house, you might see it and miss this whole afternoon if your eyes are tired and you look away from the screen a moment and then rub them.

The scene will run no longer than 150 feet, a little over a minute and a half. In its proper continuity it may be foolish; certainly it says nothing and does nothing by itself. But in forgetting it and all the other millions of minute-and-a-half set-ups, you should not forget that here into it went all the bewildering skill and loving care of miniaturists and watchmakers, moving on their spiderwork of stagings and ladders in that enormous cavern by the hour (and time and a half for overtime) to make everything as truly real as the frailties of writers and actors and directors will allow—in the day's duty to make everything within the experience of man come to life at the proper bidding.

OTIS FERGUSON

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Washington Notes

Dilemma in Defense Housing

THE ROOSEVELT ADMINISTRATION'S DILEMMA as both friend of organized labor and as manager of defense production is shown up in all its painful complexity by the case of Patrick J. Currier, Detroit contractor. Currier is a determined open-shopper whose resistance to the organization of his employees has involved him in difficulties with the regional office of the National Labor Relations Board. But he is also the low bidder on a defense housing project at Wayne, Michigan. Indeed his bid of $979,000 is $431,000 lower than the better of two rival bids. Yet the Labor Division of the OPM, under Sidney Hillman, has recommended that Currier's offer be rejected—not because he proposes to build government housing with non-union labor but because he proposes to deal with the CIO, Mr. Hillman's wing of the labor movement, rather than the AFL.

This seems, on the surface, a preposterous situation. It is, in fact, less preposterous than it seems, but it has given such a confirmed labor baiter as Representative Clare Hoffman of Michigan a chance to complain not only that the government is insisting upon being gyped out of the taxpayers' money but that the CIO has been victimized by Hillman's discrimination. When Hoffman starts defending the CIO from the Roosevelt administration almost anything can happen. Labor stands only to lose from this fight.

Behind the difficulty lies, as usual, the fratricidal feud between the CIO and the AFL, and, more specifically, the attempt of A. D. Lewis, John L. Lewis' little brother, to chisel in on the AFL building trades. As head of the United Construction Workers, a CIO affiliate financed by the United Mine Workers, A. D. Lewis has set up a bargain counter for construction workers and invited contractors to take advantage of the cut rates. In so far as the UCW is a union, it is a union of contractors—many of them contractors of the Currier anti-labor stripe. The Lewis system is to sign closed-shop contracts with employers and then to collect dues from the employees as an afterthought. Lewis makes the wage scales attractive to the employer; at the same time, he assumes a progressive and, by comparison with the AFL, positively enlightened attitude toward prefabrication and other time and money-saving improvements in the technology of construction.

Applied to the Currier company, which manufactures building materials and has the equipment for a large measure of prefabrication, the advantages of the Lewis method are obvious, even assuming that prevailing wage standards are maintained. When wage cuts are added to tolerance for machine-age methods of construction, Lewis' proposition become practically irresistible. Why, then, shouldn't the government permit Currier to pick up the Lewis bargains? Why should it protect such reactionary unions as Big Bill Hutcheson's carpenters, which has recently been prosecuted, though unsuccessfully, for alleged violation of the anti-trust laws?

The reason is that about 98 percent of all the nation's organized construction workers are in the AFL and a negligible handful of them in Lewis' upstart CIO rival, its claim to 410 active locals notwithstanding. Foreseeing development of a serious obstacle to defense construction in the penchant of the AFL building-trades unions for walking off the job in protest against the slightest grievance, Hillman signed a no-strike agreement with the leaders of these unions last July. In return for their promise not to condone strikes for any reason, Hillman agreed to minimum standards applicable to all construction work and set up a board for arbitration of disputes. The AFL has called this "a virtual closed shop on all defense construction projects." In effect, it is this because the minimum standards are higher than most non-union employers can afford. It freezes out the Lewis union in most large communities because it is not well enough organized to provide all the necessary labor. AFL members refuse to work on the same job with CIO card-holders.

So the Hillman agreement guaranteed both that the rush work of the army and navy and other defense agencies would be done and done promptly and that prevailing wage rates would be maintained. It was, from the government's point of view, a wholly justified maneuver. Also from the point of view of an overwhelming majority of construction workers. Only the taxpayer had cause for complaint.

When all the circumstances are considered, it is impossible to escape the conclusion that politics, both in the labor movement and in the administration, is more than incidentally responsible for the build-up of the Currier case. To the Lewises, John and A.D., it is a convenient stick with which to beat Hillman on the eve of the CIO convention. It is a stout stick, because the CIO is strong in Detroit and the proposed Wayne housing is intended primarily for CIO automobile workers, many of whom are Hillman's allies. It also is balm to the injured soul of Thurman Arnold, chief of the Justice Department's Anti-Trust Division, whose case against Hutcheson was thrown out by the Supreme Court and who has been suspected of playing ball with Lewis. Currier's protest was referred to Arnold by Works Administrator John Carmody.

Judge Charles B. Sears, the Justice Department's examiner in the Harry Bridges case, refused to alter his findings that the CIO leader was a Communist-minded alien who should be deported because of wire-tapping evidence. However, he did state on the basis of this evidence that Bridges' telephone was tapped in violation of federal law. So far, Attorney General Biddle has indicated no disposition to proceed against the tapper or tappers. There never has been a case in which J. Edgar Hoover and the FBI have been caught with their pants so far down. But there seems to be nobody willing to kick them. . . . The Criminal Division of the Justice Department has promised to order an investigation of the abduction and flogging of two CIO organizers in Roane County, Tennessee, with a view to prosecuting the abductors for denial of civil liberties. But the investigating, if any, will have to be done by the FBI, and the prospects for effective action therefore are not too good. . . . Comptroller General Lindsay Warren's scatter-gun charges against the Youth Administration seem to be the first shot of a new economy offensive. Warren used to be a member of the House economy bloc himself.

Washington T. R. B.

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Theatre Song

From Lorca's Theatre. Five plays translated by Richard L. O'Connell and James Graham L. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 286 pages. $2.50.

IT IS TRUE that I offered to write a foreword to this volume of translations of five Lorca plays, and honored myself in doing so; but my effort as printed there is very short; and if I had thought it must preclude my discussion of the volume I would have refrained even then. However that may be, the contents of that foreword will appear in this review more or less, as partially celebrating what seems to me a notable event in our theatre literature. These five plays, in the first translation authorized by the dramatist's family and heirs, are an invaluable contribution to the dramatic literature of our time.

We may certainly say that since the World War there has been no more beautiful mind in the theatre than Lorca's. We may say too that it was a mind at the same time passionate, complex and lovable, and, as the theatre must be, contagious and friendly. His was a genius, too, that was marked by a seemingly inexhaustible invention; hot with the variety and multiplication of images and cold with their precision and finality. Images like new bodies, new and convincing presences, or sudden revelations in light.

These five plays demonstrate easily the fact that no modern dramatist has shown more instinct for using the theatre, working fully and freely in all its divers mediums.

These plays are meant, of course, to be encountered in the theatre, not on the printed page; but even so, we feel easily in them the effect of space and energy that belongs to the classical and Mediterranean. Meantime, we are apt to feel quite as well a sense of irregularity, willfulness and violence. And that is partly true of Lorca's particular genius and practice: and it is the defect of a marvelous excellence in him. Quite possibly for us it may appear to be a greater defect than it actually is, since we are used to a drama that makes small demands on our imagination and is eased along under cover of a mild realism.

Lorca's theatre, on the other hand, has only its own reality; it is never to be seen as anything but theatre—a work of theatre art—and it uses the theatre medium as frankly and directly as a painter uses paint. Whether or not these plays fit into our notion or theory as to what a drama should be, they have the originality of what is true. They have a splendor of freshness to them and an almost harsh immediacy in sensuous response—which is to say motifs and details that blend and excite, and that convey the orgastic or visionary as few modern poets have been able to do. Very few of Lorca's most seemingly extravagant or complex images are not organic to the scene and characters in which they occur. They are a part of all that blaze of invention and fecundity and perception that his work exhibits. They are close and quick and lovely, daring and unaffected as the vision of a child, and yet wholly sophisticated in the sense of some great music, music our last master, which knows all.

This flowering in Lorca's plays is alive; it can announce and convey its colors. To be violent and glowing and at the same time articulate is to exemplify one of art's first requirements, one that is rarely fulfilled, even in the theatre art, where it is so especially needed. It implies with Lorca a necessity for expression, a pouring out, a love that fills up with abundance and knows all sweet device. His tradition belongs to another race than ours, a race apart to some extent as the Spanish is even from other so-called Latin races; and his tradition is racial and Catholic, the beautiful and profoundly proved and ancient forms of the Catholic Church are his inheritance and deep benefit. His bold and poetic mind expects full images in the hearts of us—another way of saying that his work may be one of the sources of salvation for the theatre of today, poor and dry, cheaply feasible, plausible, limping and hesitant as it has become, a theatre not even good enough to be bad, a mere sorry banality, an easy, wholesale anti-aphrodisiac.

This translation by Mr. O'Connell and Mr. Graham has here and there, as we might expect, examples of that impulse in translators where they mess things up not so much through any ignorance of their original as through some hypnotic pull this other language may exert or else some wayward judgment of their own, mixed, perhaps, with a certain blur in their usage of our own English. For instance, *"Se pone una careta de expresión dormida":* "puts on a mask with an expression of slumber," which could scarcely claim to be English, much less a proper rendering. The number of such cases, however, is wonderfully small.

"Yerma," "If Five Years Pass," "Doña Rosita," "Don Perlimplin" and "The Shoemaker's Prodigious Wife" are the plays here presented. We may hope for more, as the admirable prefatory notes on the playwright and on his dramatic values appear to promise us.

In general the volume is far ahead of most translating, is aware of time values in the lines, is free in its both accurate and emotional uses of words. In "If Five Years Pass" ("Asi Que Pasen Cinco Años"), there is the scene, for example, of the child and the cat, the janitor's dead child in his coffin, smothered in roses, and the cat the children have killed and thrown on the roof—they so want to escape the burial awaiting them, however different for the two. It is a scene unlike all others so far as I know, bizarre, fairy-tale, grotesque and infinitely pitiful. It is a scene that reduces most of its Teutonic parallels to their own just treacle and itch of symbolism; even the Hannele scenes in Hauptmann's "The Sunken Bell," beautiful as they are, suffer by the comparison. This scene the translation conveys with a delicate, trembling perfection that translators in general have scarcely taught us to expect. We need scarcely know any Spanish to see how the rhyming and simplicity in these lines of the child's have been caught:

io también iba, ay!, gata chata, barata,
naricillas de hojadelata,
a comer zarzamoras y manzanas.

I walked also, snub-nosed cat, cheap as that,
little tin nostrils, made so flat,
to eat mulberries and apples.

Or take the lines from the chorus in "Yerma," how the translation has overcome the peculiarities of the two languages, as to reflexive pronouns, the use of the article without the noun, the word order, and so on. (Not to mention the fine lyric ear of the version offered.)

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Señor, que florezca la rosa,
ne me la dejéis en sombra.

Lord, make blossom the rose,
Leave not my rose in shadow.

As to the prose rhythms of the translation's English—"I've been a woman with her skirts to the wind. I have run like an arrow to melon cuttings. . . ."

Lorca himself was so pure and complete an artist that he would be the last man in the world to want his death used to heighten the appeal or the prosperity of his writing. He was dragged to death with appalling brutality by some of Franco's men, his sole offense being, it seems, that his plan to carry a trailer of plays out to the common people had been subsidized by the Republican government. This does not in itself, save with devious or stupid people, either make his work better or make it less. But it has a certain news value, and it does imply that Lorca himself and his actions may have had about them the vividness and deep point that make for significance and danger. STARK YOUNG

The Bandwagon

When Henry Morgenthau, Secretary of the Treasury, announced that his hirelings were drafting a measure which would limit the profit for business enterprises to six percent, he revealed the real intent behind all of the governmental program of the past eight and a half years, namely the complete destruction of the capitalistic system of private enterprise. – *From an editorial in The State [Lansing, Mich.] Journal.*

Dr. Roger Russell of the University of Nebraska, investigating the tribal life of the Pueblo people of New Mexico, tells of encountering a five-year-old native who, after shyly regarding him from a distance, advanced and kicked him violently in the shins.

"It hurt like the deuce," says Dr. Russell, "but I am delighted. It was the child's way—the way of children the world over—of showing that he liked my looks and wanted to make friends." – *From "Topics of the Times" in The New York Times.*

She Ain't Talking

The murder conviction of Dr. William F. Lamance, 35, osteopath and former pugilist, for the death of his pretty nurse-wife was reversed today by the State Supreme Court.

The court . . . declared the case "has left our minds in a state of confusion and with a desire to reach beyond the grave and inquire of Mrs. Lamance what really occurred." – *AP dispatch from Jefferson City (Mo.) in The New York Post.*

Reparations Already Yet?

Inasmuch as our country must spend billions because of Germany's action, and inasmuch as our country will obtain no territorial gains when the war is over, I suggest that, when peace terms are agreed upon, we insist that there shall be turned over to our nation from Germany the painting by Raphael, "The Sistine Madonna." It hangs in a museum there—not in any church, and so would not be taken from a religious body or building. – *From a letter to The New York Times.*

Department of Fine Writing: Sporting Division

Technically he [Bobby Jones] is a pro, but he'll always be an amateur at heart, and he'll always be an amateur to the millions who followed his every move during the glory years. He wouldn't ask to compete as an amateur and he wouldn't enter a tournament as a pro, so he has just floated in between, a fleecy cloud touching neither the sun nor the earth. – *From The Spokesman-Review of Spokane, Washington.*

Our readers are invited to contribute to this column; $1 will be paid for each item used. Address Bandwagon, care of The New Republic. Please enclose the original clipping. – THE EDITORS

Correspondence

The Main Issue in Mexico

SIR: Mexico is putting its blue chips on Uncle Sam. President Camacho and Minister of Foreign Relations Padillo may be relied upon to throw the country's fortunes on the side against Hitler come what may. Mexico is coöperating in the blacklist enforcement. She has expelled German consuls; she has rebuked Hitler for interfering in Mexican affairs; she has forced the resignation of a Cabinet member for alleged totalitarian sympathies; and she has given the press an unbridled license to lash out against Nazism and all other isms that do not fit into the cohesive program of New World solidarity.

At the same time Mexico's middle class—the element that engages in commercial pursuits—is strongly sympathetic with the government's policies. The business world does the most traveling to the States. Therefore, it knows the American people better than any other class. It admires and envies at the same time the alertness, enterprise and efficiency of the neighboring nation. It recognizes, more than any other group, that from a realistic point of view, if nothing else, it is essential that on-the-up-and-up relations with the United States be maintained in perpetuity if Mexico is going to crawl out of the abject misery from which millions of her people have been suffering since the nation was established.

The problem of the government and the sympathizers of our Western democracies is to suppress Franco and his campaign to make Spanish culture, tradition, language and religion the real issues in the struggle to win over Latin America. The masses are still not wholly convinced that behind Franco's skirts Adolf Hitler is directing the campaign to subjugate the Western world in the style to which the occupied countries of Europe have been accustomed. Uncle Sam should put the heat on not only in Mexico but in the rest of Latin America to liquidate the efforts of those sinister European dictators who are striving to gain a foothold in the New World.

Mexico City, D. F. A. A. PRECIADO

Federal Union

SIR: Forgive me: there have been dozens of articles in The New Republic deserving of bouquets, and I have not sent them; but now when the finale of your series of editorials on post-war possibilities [September 8] deserves half a brickbat, I have to throw it.

What a neat phrase that is about "basing a new world upon economic realities rather than political pretenses"! And how wonderful must it not be to be pleading for an approach which "promises (to whom?) nothing that cannot be delivered"! Like yourselves, Federal Unionists are concerned about economic realities, but they are also determined not to overlook certain ugly political realities. Economic nationalism is undoubtedly one of the realities that caused this war, but we must not forget that it was "national" before it was "economic." Contrariwise,

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economic internationalism is one of the realities which is essential for a good peace, but it must be "international"—or, better, "overnational"—before it can be economic. That is why it is so necessary, along with other requirements, to insist upon the necessity both of political principles and political organization.

On the record (consider, for example, the World Economic Conference), it is extremely difficult to get sensible economic decisions of any significance in the absence of prior agreement on political principle. And, again on the record (consider the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Program), it is clear—most regrettably so—that the economic approach does promise sometimes in the eyes of the general public more than can be delivered.

Iowa State College, Ames, Ia. JOHN A. VIEG

Letter to an Isolationist

[Printed below is a letter written by Upton Sinclair to an isolationist friend. He has asked that the friend's name be withheld. – THE EDITORS]

In regard to your views on the war, it seems to me that all our isolationists err in the assumption that we have any choice about fighting. We have to fight because Hitler is what he is and because his system is predatory and could not stand our competition and criticism. In other words, Hitler cannot exist in the same world with us, and he knows it, and if he should succeed in beating Russia and England, he would have, from that time on, only one thought, to undermine us morally and politically while preparing to destroy us in war.

We are automatically driven to get ready, and the only question we have to consider is whether we prefer to fight him with Britain and Russia as allies or to fight him alone after he has taken over the resources of Britain and Russia. I very much doubt our ability to win under the latter circumstances.

I do not see how anybody can fail to see this, and I can only guess the reason to be that you do not know as much about the Nazis as I do. A great many people think they know, but they don't *really* know. It is very difficult to know, because their badness is so completely unbelievable and because it is so cleverly combined with plausibility. Hitler has told us in "Mein Kampf" that he only tells big lies because nobody will believe that anybody would tell such big lies. He has acted on this principle throughout, and most of the time he has gotten away with it and is still doing so.

You send me the speech of President MacCracken of Vassar, and I am quite sure that this gentleman is so good that it is absolutely impossible for him to conceive of anybody being as bad as Hitler is. If you try to tell him, you become a "warmonger"—and every follower of Hitler throughout the world chuckles with delight while he calls you that name. We confront the greatest warmonger in the history of the world, and we are compelled to fight for our lives and for all the things that we value more than life; but in the face of that situation we shrink from being called warmongers! I, for one, am mongering all the war I can.

As to the question whether we can win the war, I do not see much use in discussing that because there are too many factors of uncertainty, and I cannot see that we have any choice. When everything you value in life is at stake, you can only do the best you can, and prefer to die fighting rather than to give up for lack of nerve. The British have shown us how to answer that question. I think that the war depends upon our ability to keep Hitler from getting oil, and I believe that if we send enough bombing planes to Iran, we can keep him from getting the oil of Baku. If he cannot get oil, his blitzkrieg will come to an end without our landing a single soldier on the Continent.

As to the question of our losing our democracy in the course of the fight, I can only say that we have had several hard fights and managed to keep at least some of our democracy. In any case, I think we will be able to keep more than we will have if we knuckle down to Hitler. That question seems to me to answer itself.

Pasadena, Calif. UPTON SINCLAIR

Novelists and Human Life

SIR: Edwin Muir should not scold modern novelists because they don't give a "complete conception of human life" (The New Republic, August 11). Man changed universes between 1859 and 1941. Under the old dispensation man in the image of God smugly sat in the exact cozy corner of everything. The sun and the stars did him homage, and novels came to a satisfying completion. The Greeks suspected there was something wrong with this picture; Galileo, Copernicus, *et al.*, proved there was. Not until 1859 when Darwin's "Origin of Species" was published did the Temple of the anthropocentric universe finally collapse. Today we live in a windy universe of vast distances whose destination and control room we aren't sure about. The honest artist can't goody-goody in a dynamic universe as he could when man was statically the center, and the ultimates were all fixed—"as it was in the beginning. . . ."

The Victorians performed a miracle of rationalization in accepting part of the new universe but keeping the main framework of the fallen Temple. Evolution was blandly conceived of as a one-way business: a sort of glorified cosmic escalator "Toward that far-off divine event toward which the whole creation moves." Had the late Victorians faced facts, their novelists might have been forced to less complete endings. The rocks embalm a multitude of dead species which went not up but down, and *out*. The way man goes depends on man's control of forces he is still struggling to understand. What honest artist can give a "complete conception" based on change and mystery? The artist who goes Pollyanna and scrambles back to values and concepts which have lost any meaning in a dynamic universe takes his place with the unburied dead. If he accepts the fact that "He can't go home again" and turns his face toward the future he can't goody-goody any more. But artists willing to face Medusas of Perplexity we need urgently if we are going any place but down.

ROBERT COOK

American Genetic Association, Washington, D. C.

From The New Republic Mail Bag

To celebrate their one hundred and twenty-fifth anniversary Harper and Brothers has announced the largest American literary prize ever offered, $12,500 for the best work of non-fiction to be submitted before May 1, 1942. The judges will be J. Donald Adams, editor of The New York Times Book Review, Harry Scherman, president of the Book-of-the-Month Club and the editors of Harper and Brothers. Manuscripts should be addressed to Harper's One Hundred and Twenty-fifth Anniversary Contest, Harper and Brothers, 49 East Thirty-third Street, New York City.

Friends of Democracy, Inc., 103 Park Avenue, New York City, has called upon Henry Ford to take immediate legal steps to stop the Ku Klux Klan from distributing an anti-Semitic pamphlet, "The International Jew," which was first published in 1920 by Ford's newspaper, The Dearborn Independent. In 1927 Ford himself publicly apologized for circulating these articles, admitted they were based upon the "Protocols of the Wise Men of Zion" and called the latter "gross forgeries." Unless he now protests against this activity of the Klan he will be lending his prestige to a membership and fund-raising drive of the Klan "designed to restore it to the disgraceful position it held some seventeen years ago."

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–Mary Ross, *New York Herald Tribune Books*

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Marginalia

THE LIST of best-sellers, fiction and non-fiction, that appears each Monday in The New York Times is based on reports from eleven cities. Recently it has shown that book-buyers are moved by at least eleven varieties of local patriotism. In Baltimore, for the week ending September 27, the leading non-fiction title was "Baltimore on the Chesapeake." In St. Louis it was "Missouri: A Guide to the State," by the Federal Writers' Project. In New Orleans, now a shipbuilding center, the two most popular non-fiction works were "Modern Ship-Fitter" and "Welder's Guide." The third was "Lanterns on the Levee," by William Alexander Percy—an intelligent statement of the plantation ideal—and the fourth was "Louisiana Hayride." In San Francisco, the non-fiction leader was "Anybody's Gold," by Joseph Henry Jackson, who lives there.

The lists of best-selling fiction were less varied; almost everywhere "The Keys of the Kingdom" and "The Sun Is My Undoing" were in first and second place. But several novels were popular, each in one city, apparently because they had a local subject or a local author. The movie colony in Los Angeles was still reading "What Makes Sammy Run?" by Budd Schulberg, which deals with the movie colony. St. Louis retained its patient and rather bovine taste for long historical romances about the Mississippi Valley. Atlanta was still hoping to find another "Gone with the Wind," and meanwhile was reading anything that faintly resembled it. As for New York, it continued to set the literary fashions, but they weren't always being followed.

Margaret Leech, the author of another best-seller, was interviewed a few weeks ago for The Times Sunday Book Review. The article about her was one of a series that has proved more interesting than I had expected it to be. Perhaps Robert Van Gelder, who does the interviews, has a special gift for drawing people out, or perhaps American writers have been waiting for a chance to spill their hearts and the beans. In either case, the articles have been full of revealing comments on the business of being an author. Miss Leech, for example, was "unable to say that she had slaved at 'Reveille in Washington' through an inner compulsion." The fact of the matter was

> . . . that the publishers asked me to write the book and suggested the subject. Later I asked Cass Canfield how he happened to make the suggestion, and he said that he had a theory that there was plenty of room in the field of American history for other than professional historians, and that he had asked me to make a try because he was pretty sure that I would turn out something that was anyway adequate, of which he needn't be ashamed.

So she worked for five years, and the book she turned out was anyway adequate enough to stand second on the non-fiction list in New York, Philadelphia, Washington and Chicago (after "Berlin Diary"), besides being third in Boston, fourth in Baltimore, fourth in Los Angeles and sixth in San Francisco. The only cities that fail to mention it are St. Louis, New Orleans and Atlanta, where many readers believe that it deals with the wrong side of the Civil War. Mr. Canfield of Harpers needn't be ashamed.

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But this story about the gestation and birth of a best-seller has another lesson. It suggests that writing in this country is becoming no less collectivist than in Russia, and no less controlled by the leadership principle than in Germany. The author in many cases is a man who knows how to follow instructions. The good publisher is something more; he can guess what the public will be wanting in five years, and give it just that. Perhaps the time is coming when this state of affairs will be acknowledged on the title page. Instead of listing only three names—those of the book, the author and the publisher—it may read something like this: "Sins of the Fathers—A Book to Enthrall You. Created by the Standard Publishing Corporation at the suggestion of its sales force. Research by Jane Doe and Roberta Roe, of Radcliffe. Grammar and punctuation by Henry Blank, of the publisher's staff. Dictated to the Dictaphone by Emerson James McGillicuddy, hereinafter known as the Author."

Not a few critics have fallen into the habit of using psychoanalysis as a club with which to beat authors over the head. Poet X, they say with a clinical air, is the victim of mother fixation. Autobiographer Y is an exhibitionist, oh, unmistakably, and Novelist Z shows all the familiar symptoms of anal eroticism. But are the critics themselves immune to these psychic diseases? Are they sure that their war club isn't a boomerang?

No, I haven't any particular critics in mind. But after reading too many book reviews for all too many years, I have come to feel that scores of them are partly the result of mental states that the psychologists would recognize as sadism, masochism, voyeurism, exhibitionism or narcissism. Others are not so much critical judgments as symbolic deeds. Thus, when Hemingway became a critic to the extent of burlesquing Sherwood Anderson—in "The Torrents of Spring," his weakest book—he was committing an act of symbolic parricide. Anderson had dominated his earlier stories and he was now destroying the father image. The very superior remarks that Gertrude Stein made about Hemingway in "The Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas" might be interpreted as symbolic filicide, considering that she had formerly regarded him as the brightest of her literary children.

I choose these two examples because they are old and public (and no feelings hurt), but there are too many others in the critical writing of the last few years. Here is a book review that is obviously a rite of excommunication with bell, book and candle. Here is another that swings a censer while it deifies Jules Romains. Here is an essay in which a critic immolates his past, performing an act of ritual suicide; here he is announcing his spiritual rebirth. Here is a declaration of love disguised as a literary interview; and here—and here again—are savage poets dancing over the mangled bodies of their foes. In each case the critic fancied that he was passing a work of art in sober judgment; in each case he was satisfying some obscure need of his own.

MALCOLM COWLEY

Books in Review

Praise the Lord, O My Soul!

PENGUIN BOOKS have reached an unrivaled position in the publishing world by putting within reach of the poorest man a remarkable variety of good writing ranging from fiction and belles lettres to topical political and scientific studies. James Aitken's good taste is responsible for their latest volume[1] containing selections from English diarists of three centuries. A number of the diarists are well known; most readers in the field have seen the Great Plague of London through John Evelyn's eyes, have heard Pepys describe the Great Fire that followed it and forced him to bury his precious parmesan cheese in a pit in the garden. Fielding's dull account of his last journey abroad, to Lisbon, Swift's Journal to Stella, John Wesley on his travels of conversion, Fanny Burney playing with the thrills of anonymous authorship and being chased by the unhinged George III in Kew Gardens—these are in this book, the celebrities of diary writing whose every word has been picked over and quoted by the biographers with incessant repetition.

What is new here are the unknown contemporaries of these great people: the country squire, the storekeeper, the apprentice, the astrologer—unimportant men and women who kept, mixed with their tallies and memoranda, an account of their stumbling advancement through life, their bouts with their consciences, their constantly avowed frailty in the sight of God, their joy in virtue rewarded. Inevitably their weaknesses make much of the best reading, the trifling incongruities such as a passion for exactitude ("Rowland [his son] fell into the Thames over head and ears *about noon or somewhat after.*"), an uninhibited frankness in privately ranking things in their real order of importance ("A great good fortune [that the ship should have escaped the pirates] there being 17 bailes of furniture and other rich plunder . . . *together with my wife, and my Lady Browne.*"), and the dry recording of shocking events such as John Bufton's comments on witch-trials in 1699:

> July 13. The Widow Comon was put into the river to see if she would sink, because she was suspected to be a witch—and she did not sink, but swim. And she was tried again July 19, and then she swam again and did not sink.
>
> 24. The Widow Comon was tried a third time by putting her into the river, and she swam and did not sink.
>
> Dec. 27. The Widow Comon, that was counted a witch, was buried.

This disturbed the seventeenth-century diarist no more than announcements of bloody slaughters mixed up with the best defense against body odor disturb many contemporary radio listeners. Yet the sense of innate sinfulness was

[1] English Diaries of the XVI, XVII and XVIII Centuries. Edited by James Aitken. New York: Penguin Books, Inc. 155 pages. 25 cents.

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rarely absent and the diarists responded to it almost as an expected part of their daily round:

This day I [John Eyre. 1647] stayed at home all the day likewise, and in the afternoon I paid Abraham Is. for these two days work, after which I furnished the shelves with books, and called upon God, my merciful Father, to be my assistance, and to guide me with His Spirit; and began to read part of the preface to Sir Walter Rawleigh's History of the World. This night I whipped Jane [the maidservant] for her foolishness, as yesterday I had done for her slothfulness; and hence I am induced to bewail my sinful life, for my failings in the presence of God Almighty are questionless greater than hers are to me.

Jane's diary is not here, alas! but we do have a picture of another menial, kindly treated by his master, in Roger Lowe, a Lancashire apprentice who tells us how it felt to get a raise in the seventeenth century:

I boldly spake my grievances, and my master told me he had bought me a steake . . . and would give me of it. I had measure taken of me for a new doublet and was to have a new hat and a new pair stockings, and my master told me he intended shop for me and at Michaelmas next I was to go with him to Chester fair. And thus the Lord favored me and turned my fears into joys. Praise the Lord, O my soul!

And here is Mr. Dee, the astrologer, curing himself in the 1590's of "a great fit of the stone" in his left kidney:

I drunk a draught of white wine and salad oil, and after that crab's eyes in powder with the bone of the carp's head, and about four of the clock I did eat toasted cake buttered, and with sugar and nutmeg on it, and drunk two great draughts of ale with it; and I voided within an hour much water, and a stone as big as an Alexander seed. God be thanked! Five shillings to Robert Webb, part of his wages.

And sometimes there is a romantic witness to a colorful episode of great importance, as when Charles Edward's invasion of England in the "'45" was covered by Elizabeth Byrom, the daughter of a hymn writer. She sat up late at night "making St. Andrew's crosses" while "the mob shouted very cleverly," bonfires blazed up and a Highlander friend "took his drawn sword in his hand and went by himself."

The Prince lay at Lawyer Starkey's at Preston last night; he has marched from Carlisle on foot at the head of his army; he was dressed in a Scotch plaid, a blue silk waistcoat with silver lace and a Scotch bonnet with J. R. on it.

I have saved till the end Thomas Turner, whose diary ran through the middle years of the eighteenth century. He kept a general store in Sussex, went to drinking parties with Mr. and Mrs. Porter (the parish parson and his wife) and fought a losing battle with his conscience for years, quite unaided by Mr. Porter. His chief efforts are toward being a good sport without being sinful ("I cannot say I came home sober, though I was far from being bad company"), which was apparently just as difficult then as it is now. After supping with the Porters off "four boiled chicken, four boiled ducks, minced veal, sausages, cold roast goose, chicken pasty and ham," the whole party falls to:

. . . dancing or jumping about, without a violin or any music, singing of foolish healths, and drinking all the time as fast as it could be poured down. . . . If conscience declares right from wrong, as doubtless it sometimes does, mine is one that I may say is soon offended; for, I must say, I am always very uneasy at such behavior, thinking it not like the behavior of the primitive Christians. . . . I came home, thank God, very safe and well, without even tumbling.

Next morning Mr. and Mrs. Porter rush into his room at six a. m. and pull him out of bed "as the common phrase is, topsy turvy" and make him dance in his wife's petticoats, souring him somewhat for Mr. Porter's sermon the next Sunday "against swearing." But on Tuesday, "we continued drinking like horses, as the vulgar phrase is . . . behaving more like mad people than they that profess the name of Christians. . . ." And so on through Friday, when "the same scene took place, with the exception that there was no swearing and no ill words, by reason of which Mr. Porter calls it innocent mirth, but I in opinion differ much there from."

And finally, how appropriately the curtain falls on Mr. Turner with next day's hangover:

11. (Saturday.) At home all day. Very piteous.

NIGEL DENNIS

Who Goes There?

Where Stands a Winged Sentry, by Margaret Kennedy. New Haven: The Yale University Press. 266 pages. $2.

IT IS NOT OFTEN that we get a report on the state of the war by a person trained in the craft of writing. The men, or the good men, are too deeply in the experience to be dashing off flimsies; the women are mute with the concern for their families, or hysterical, or don't count. But Margaret Kennedy has been keeping, almost automatically, a journal of her day-to-day experience, still a writer in the face of the sobering responsibilities of being a wife and the mother of a family through these days of terror. She has sent over the pages covering May to October, 1940, which means in English history the time between the awakening to imminent danger as the German break-through swelled to sudden immensity, and the settling down as the worst of the massed air raids had been endured or repulsed. Mrs. Kennedy has not got quite the tough mind and controlled passion of Valentine Ackland, some of whose letters written in this same period were printed in this same magazine. But she speaks straight out in her diary, she tells of hopes and dreadful moments and faith born again, she hollers when it hurts, and in the end she is so plain honest that the discretions and reserve and Savoy of Mollie Panter-Downes (otherwise a swell reporter and writer) seem to have spared The New Yorker's audience the uncomfortable passion and horror which were the backbone of the whole thing. The title should not mislead anybody: this is a book.

It is not thrilling: it is not meant to be. It is the record of someone with a generous concern for the world and its people who has also formed the habit of setting her thoughts in order at the end of each day, with care for the detail, the event, the general meaning. Mrs. Kennedy says she is a

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liberal; she thinks the word has been dishonored but that the thing in people behind it has not. In her reactions to the fear for her husband and her children and the folks around her, there shows another fear almost as great: for the country and its millions she has never seen, for a way of life, for decency and daylight. First it was a natural despair, with all the good men telling themselves, to themselves, they must not be despairing. Then it was a gathering together in this resolution, a breaking down of ancient human and social barriers. Then, finally, it was a realization that the good was at work in the midst of this terror and evil; that England would never be the same again; that the good people had in their strength become the gage of defense, endurance, victory, knowing themselves for their worth, quiet but alert and implacable, not again in their lifetime to be flimflammed, whatever the outcome of the dark threat that was necessary to bring this sturdy fiber out of an obscure somnolence into its true worth in the fabric.

This was merely her desperate hope, as the journal starts out. But as the journal ends, after all the eventualities have been weighed and faced, the actions of people observed, the habits of living settled down to the long common effort of do-or-die, the vague hope has become a faith, held with new intelligence and guarded against the darkness. You could say Margaret Kennedy was fooling herself, hoping she was not. But you could not present to any shrewd Nazi analyst of mental chances, side by side, a book like "The Constant Nymph" and a diary of growing responsibility, awareness and concern such as this, without making him turn quickly away, as in fact the Germans did turn away after their great blow from the air had achieved no more than many ruins but many more people saying, They can't do it, we won't have it; we are England and we'd almost forgot.

OTIS FERGUSON

The Eagles They Fly High

Winged Warfare, by Major-General H. H. Arnold, United States Army, and Colonel Ira C. Eaker, United States Army. New York: Harper and Brothers. 265 pages, illustrated. $3.

THIS BOOK was written before the air-borne invasion of Crete, and the careful reader will add Crete's lessons to those made so abundantly clear in this volume. Not that the authors are primarily concerned with a study of the aerial warfare of the past two years or its meaning. This, unfortunately, enters only incidentally into "Winged Warfare." The focus is upon an explanation of what aerial warfare is, the weapons used, the men who use them, bases and organization, tactics and strategy, defense and production, research and, in the last chapter, "Air Force for Us."

Within this focus the authors have produced an admirable work, clearly written, easily read, readily intelligible to any layman, despite its technicalities. The various types of planes and their functional uses are described and compared with foreign types—perhaps too favorably, for it would be difficult to support (with the Allison engine and the Curtiss P-40 as examples to the contrary) the generality that "today our planes, type for type, are in all cases equal to, and in many cases superior to, the aircraft now engaged in the fighting overseas."

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There is an emphatic chapter detailing the training required by air crews, in which the authors wisely point out that it "will be an unfortunate day for our country, if we ever permit the pilot standard to be lowered." The chapter on bases is a fascinating one, and the single sentence: "One of England's weaknesses lies in the fact that her limited area makes it difficult to multiply airdromes" provides food for long thought when the problem of winning outright air superiority over Germany is considered.

In discussing organization, General Arnold and Colonel Eaker more or less dodge a definite stand on the separate-air-force controversy; this is easily understandable; it is probable this book would never have been published had they openly advocated such a change. They confine themselves to a statement of the arguments for and against, plus a brief review of the history of delay and indecision which, until two years ago, hobbled the development of army aviation. However, he who reads between the lines and carefully digests the last chapter, will conclude, quite rightly, that the authors favored a change in the organization that prevailed at the time of writing. But they stress that should a separate air force be established, its initiation "should be a stage of gradual evolution as against an overnight cutting of binding ties."

Since publication of this book, the "stage of gradual evolution" has advanced one step further, for the Army Air Corps has been reorganized to make it a semi-autonomous force within the War Department, and the strategical and tactical planning which the authors rightly emphasize as so necessary to any reasoned air development is now possible because of the recent creation of an Air Staff, separate and distinct from the army's General Staff. It would be interesting to know the authors' opinions of these modifications; and whether they still would support certain "conclusions" which now seem to have been invalidated, or at least modified, by later lessons of the aerial war. Finally, it would be of considerable importance to know what General Arnold and Colonel Eaker, rosy optimists at the time of writing, now think of our aerial armament progress.

In general this is an excellent exegesis of air doctrine; it is a book which was profoundly needed and which will gain much authority by reason of the experience and status of its authors. It is well and even dramatically written. If it errs, it errs too much on the side of what one would least expect from an airman—conservative vision and over-optimism. For this is no dispassionate report of the major problems of tactics, training, leadership or production that confront the development of American aviation. Rather, it leaves the reader with the false impression that everything is going fine. We should remember, however, that with the authors subject to military discipline and members of a force which has long been fighting the traditionalism and reactionism of the General Staff, we could hardly expect a confession of air-force sins of omission and commission. One could not expect to find an explanation for the army's failure to sponsor dive bombers, its earlier rejection of parachute troops and air-borne infantry, its past inadequate conceptions of air armor and armament.

HANSON W. BALDWIN

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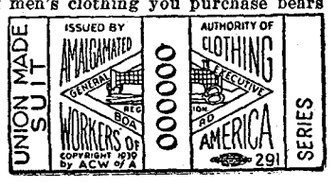

A Gentleman-Soldier

Horatio Gates, Defender of American Liberties, by Samuel White Patterson. New York: Columbia University Press. 466 pages. $4.25.

THE BATTLE OF SARATOGA has long been recognized as one of the decisive battles of the world. It is strange, as Professor Allan Nevins remarks in his foreword to the present volume, that the victor "should go down in history as a weakling, a bungler, and a marplot." These stigmata were the result of his alleged willingness to capitalize his laurels in obtaining the chief command of the American forces through the intrigues of Washington's enemies in Congress and in the army. Mr. Patterson disposes of the latter intrigue by showing that the famous Conway cabal of army officers never existed. The evidence for it was a sentence in a letter from General Conway to Gates: "Heaven had determined to save our country, or a weak general and bad counselors would have ruined it." Gates's aide, Colonel Wilkinson, made use of the letter without his chief's knowledge. When Washington heard of it, he naturally associated Gates with Conway's obvious suggestion. That after the victory of Saratoga and Washington's defeats before Philadelphia the idea of replacing the beaten commander by the victorious one was in many minds, is shown by letters of members of Congress and others. Mr. Patterson finds no evidence that Gates encouraged it, but is obliged to regret that he did not emphatically repudiate it. Mr. Patterson exaggerates when he asks if Washington did not realize "the generous part that Gates had been playing throughout these bitter months to keep him in his place," and suggests that but for this

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magnanimity Gates might have gained the succession.

If Gates thus obtains the negative verdict of not proven, he fails to win at Mr. Patterson's hands the crown of a great commander. Mr. Patterson is not a military historian, and his accounts of battles leave much to be desired. He does not remove the current impression that at Saratoga, as elsewhere, the American cause was won in the field by the errors of the British generals. If the conduct of the battle of Camden was as inept as Mr. Patterson's account of it, the claim of Gates to anything approaching military genius is as dead today as it was in 1780. It is true that Gates, like Steuben, was a professional soldier and could impart his training to others. As Adjutant General of Cambridge in 1775, and as president of the War Board, he was in his true role.

Mr. Patterson might have made his case for Gates without recurring sneers at Washington. We do not need the repeated reminders that Washington sat in the Congress which voted him his command, that he enjoyed comfortable headquarters in contrast to the makeshift cantonments of the army, that he listened to the contents of a letter from Gates to a member of Congress, "a purloined letter," giving an account of the surrender of Burgoyne which Gates had neglected to report to the commander-in-chief.

Mr. Patterson's style is of an earlier day. "Although Elizabeth's [the first Mrs. Gates] aspirations kept to the rhythm of his advancement her character continued unsullied."—"Elizabeth and Horatio entered upon a round of festivities with untiring zest." It may be said, however, that a certain outworn elegance of style befits the portrait of a gentleman-soldier of the eighteenth century.

ROBERT MORSS LOVETT

A Letter from Antrim

Lost Fields, by Michael McLaverty. New York: Longmans, Green and Company. 266 pages. $2.

ANYONE setting out to read the best of contemporary Irish literature for the first time might well be excused for wondering why the death rate of this small island is not even higher than it is. Over everything, everywhere —whether it be in O'Flaherty's Galway, O'Connor's Cork, O'Casey's Dublin or McLaverty's Antrim—leers the ugly, soul-destroying face of poverty. All over the green fields and throughout the dirty cities of Ireland hunger is at back of most conversation, of crime and rebellion; and yet it seems to have been the basis from which has sprung the literary genius of an astounding number of men. If Michael McLaverty is to be believed—and no reader of his second novel, "Lost Fields," will doubt a word of these quiet, convincing pages—conditions in Ulster under the British are little different from those in the three provinces of the Free State.

When this book opens, Johnny Griffin "has taken to carrying round travelers' hampers in a handcart," to keep himself and large family alive in one of Belfast's meanest houses, whose rent is always overdue. When Johnny loses most of his custom by refusing to be charged an exorbitant price on his goods, and the bailiffs finally appear at the door, a battle ensues in which his son is carted off to jail. In order to evade a further attempt at eviction, the Griffins

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persuade their old Granny, who has a pension of a few shillings a week, to move into their house from the country. But from her "wee room" in the city:

as she stood looking out upon the cindery waste ground a stubborn desolation, like the clammy wretchedness of the air, clung to her. The river was in flood and she saw a bloated bed-tick being carried down on the quiet water. Before her lay a broken plate with sooty water, a mildewed boot with rusty eye-holes, and scattered over the cinders were cabbage leaves and sodden newspapers. She thought of the country: the clear water in the well and the pure wind that rushed across fields and swung the rain drops from the hedges.

Here, as in most novels of Ireland, it is the sordidness of city life contrasted with the no less poor, but cleaner, less mean existence on the land, which strikes the reader so forcibly. And, ironically, it is through the goodness and loyalty of this old grandmother that the Griffins manage to remain on in the city—until finally it kills her, and her son returns to his birthplace to eke out an even more precarious, if healthier, livelihood among his hens, rabbits and the eternal "spuds" in the country.

Nothing momentous occurs in this quiet book; nothing more violent than a scuffle with the local police; no war, nor reference to war; even the love of Hugh for his girl lacks the passion usually associated with the men of this island. Yet by its very understatement, its simplicity, lack of all literary pretentiousness, its rare characterization and its flawless prose, "Lost Fields" is a novel by one more Irish author from whom much may be expected.

JAMES STERN

Contributors

HERBERT AGAR is the author, among other books, of "The People's Choice" (which won the Pulitzer Prize for American history), "Land of the Free," "What Is America?" and "Pursuit of Happiness."

ARTHUR GREENWOOD has been the Labor MP for Wakefield since 1932 and is Minister without Portfolio in the present War Cabinet. His most recent book is "Why We Fight: Labor's Case, 1940."

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ALAN WALKER is the pseudonym of a close student of the American labor movement.

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JAMES STERN, who lives in New York City, is the Irish author of two collections of short stories, "The Heartless Land" and "Something Wrong." Other stories of his appeared in Harper's Bazaar, Esquire and Story.

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Before me, a Notary Public in and for the State and County aforesaid, personally appeared Daniel Mebane, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the Business Manager of The New Republic and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management, etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption required by the Act of March 3, 1933, embodied in section 537, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

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The issue of October 27 of The New Republic will be the

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Contrasting reviews of "Sea Power," by Captain Russell Grenfell, R.N. Two challenging studies of a central question of Anglo-American foreign policy.

Winfield Townley Scott

An article, "Pegasus Hits the Street," on a lively and interesting literary experiment—the column of "modern" verse now running in The Providence Journal.

Otis Ferguson

reviews H. L. Mencken's "Newspaper Days (1899-1906)."

Lionel Trilling

reviews Malcolm Elwin's "Walter Savage Landor."

Archibald MacLeish

reviews J. B. Priestley's "Out of the People." The Librarian of Congress and one of the outstanding spokesmen of American democracy contributes a leading article on an important new book by a great spokesman for the plain people of England.

Bernhard Knollenberg

The Librarian of Yale University reviews Carl Van Doren's "Secret History of the American Revolution."

George Barker

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